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# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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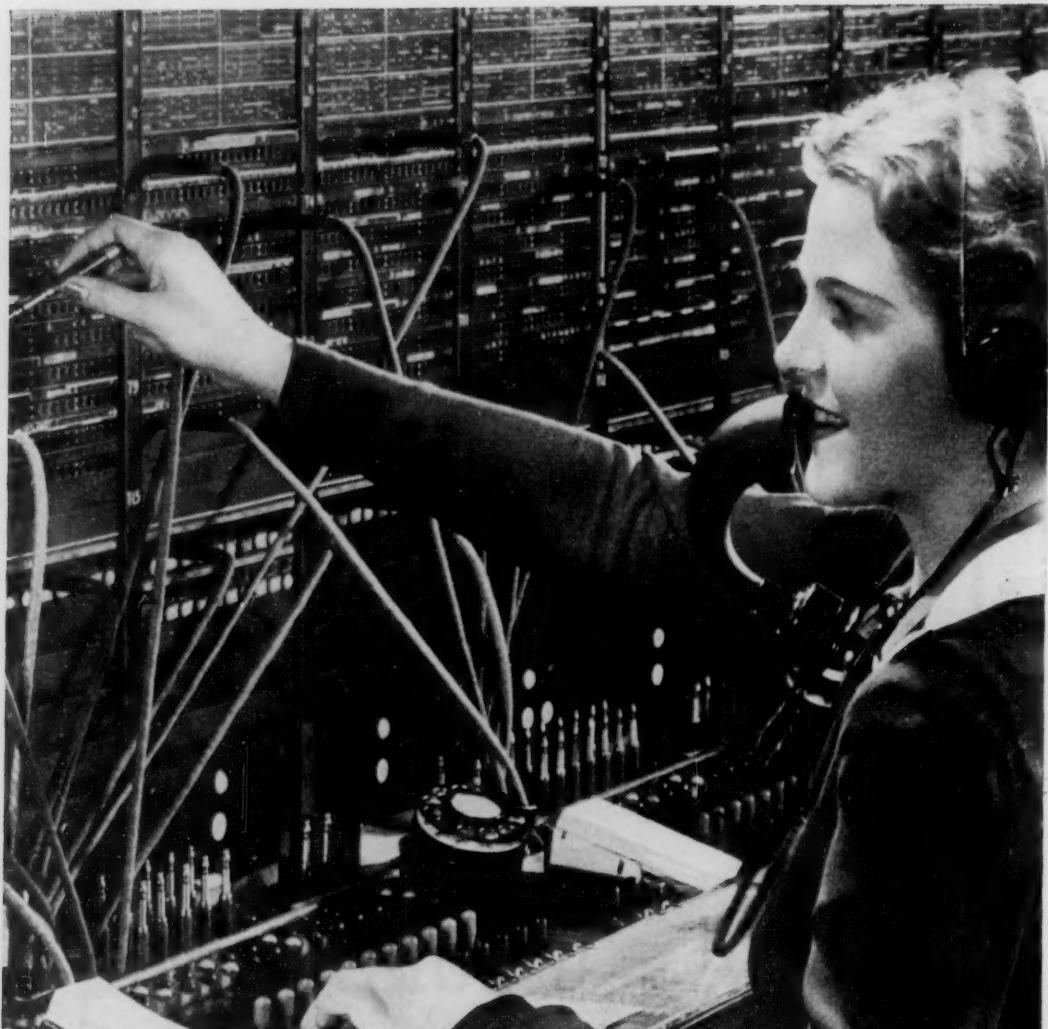
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# SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1938

## GROUP DESCRIPTION

DWIGHT SANDERSON

*Cornell University*

### I

A LARGE part of sociological literature has been concerned with attempts to define the sphere and content of sociology and to defend its right to recognition as a science. It is not my intention to attempt a discussion of all of these problems, or to attempt to delimit the scope of sociology. The objective of any science is a description of its phenomena. "The aim of Science," says Sir Arthur Thomson,<sup>1</sup> is to describe the impersonal facts of experience in verifiable terms as exactly as possible, as simply as possible, and as completely as possible.<sup>1</sup> At first sociology essayed to be a "science of society," but it found difficulty in defining society and found the task beyond the scope of one science.<sup>2</sup> More recently there seems to be general agreement that, whatever else it may include, sociology deals primarily with the phenomena of groups or the forms of human association. Thus Lundberg<sup>3</sup> commences a recent article with the statement, "The explanation of social groupings and

their behavior as groups is generally regarded as the basic problem of sociology."<sup>4</sup> Znaniecki,<sup>4</sup> in discussing the data of sociology, says, "The fourth and most developed branch of sociology is the *theory of social groups*."<sup>5</sup> Eubank in his *Concepts of Sociology* makes the group the unit of Societary Composition and the central idea of his analysis.

If groups are the chief phenomena of sociology, it would seem that we should have some clear-cut definition of the concept group, but when we turn to standard texts and systematic treatises we find wide variation and little agreement as to what a group is. After a careful review of the literature, Eubank comes to the conclusion that "a group may be regarded as *an entity, of two or more persons, in active or suspended psychic interaction*."<sup>6</sup> This probably represents as good a definition as we have, but leaves the concept fully as vague as was the old term "society." Just what does such a definition tell us? Is it not logically obvious that any form of human association must necessarily involve two or more persons in psychic interaction? Such usage is about as helpful as saying that zoology is the science of organisms endowed with sensation and voluntary

<sup>1</sup> *An Introduction to Science*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*; Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*.

<sup>3</sup> George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociography of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, II, 318.

<sup>4</sup> Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

motion. It is true and does differentiate animals from plants, but it does not help us much to try and deal with protozoa and elephants without distinguishing that they are radically different sorts of animals. As a general term the word *group* as described by Small,<sup>6</sup> indicating any human plurel, plurality pattern, or human collectivity, is useful, just as is the word *animal*. Eventually, when we have a sufficient knowledge of the different classes of groups, we shall probably use the word group much as the zoologist does the word *animal*, and we will have distinctive names for different classes just as he speaks of vertebrates, fishes, birds and mammals.

The difficulty is that almost no attempt has been made to describe carefully the different sorts of groups and then by induction to build up categories of different types of groups which have meaning. We talk about groups and *the* group as if we were dealing with a definite sort of phenomenon; yet the objects to which we refer may be as wide apart as protozoa and elephants. To make any advance in developing scientific generalizations concerning groups, we must know the different types of groups and the phenomena associated with them. This must be achieved by the careful scientific description of different kinds of groups and the determination therefrom of the many classes of groups. Some beginning in this sort of differentiation of what we call groups has been made by various writers and, whether or not we agree with his distinctions, von Wiese<sup>7</sup> has made a notable contribution in distinguishing crowds, groups and abstract collectivities upon tangible structural differences.

The vagueness of our usage with regard

<sup>6</sup> Albion W. Small, *General Sociology*, p. 495; quoted by Eubank, *ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>7</sup> Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology* of Leopold von Wiese.

to different classes of groups is well illustrated by the term "primary group" originated by Cooley. Cooley makes no exact definition of the term, merely giving illustrations of diverse kinds of personal groups having intimate face-to-face relationships, which have been held to be characteristic of primary groups. But Faris<sup>8</sup> claims that face-to-face relations are not essential and that the essence of a primary group is its functional and emotional character. What then is a primary group, and what groups should be included in this category. So far as I am aware no one has undertaken to describe carefully various supposedly primary groups and to determine inductively their common characteristics. To make matters worse, assuming that they know what a primary group is, various writers have proceeded to set up logical definitions of "secondary groups," no two of which seem to agree.

Furthermore, our designation of a given kind of group is but a common sense usage with no attempt at exactness. Thus we speak glibly of *church*, *school*, and *community* as kinds of groups as if these terms stood for some definite concepts, whereas, when we come to analyze these forms of association, we find that they cover a wide variety of plurality patterns with but little in common. Both from a structural and functional standpoint there is little in common between an orthodox Quaker meeting, a southern Negro church service, and the Roman Catholic mass, and yet we lump them together as churches. Sociologically the one-room country school and the large city high school have very little in common, except the teacher-pupil relationship (which itself is quite different). Yet we talk about *the* school as if it were

<sup>8</sup> Ellsworth Faris, "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII, p. 41.

a definite type of group, without any attempt at analysis as to what sort of a group it is or whether it does not include a wide variety of groups and communities of groups. Likewise the word community may be used, as by MacIver,<sup>9</sup> to cover "any area of common life, village, or town, or district, or country, or even wider area," although as I have shown<sup>10</sup> these are structurally quite different forms of association.

Until we take the trouble to describe different kinds of groups with the same care that a biologist describes a species, genus, or family of plant or animal life, we shall fail to have any adequate understanding of the nature of the group. How far would zoology advance if its students merely talked about sparrows, bugs, or squirrels, with no exact descriptions? The first duty of the zoologist is to describe exactly a new species or to determine whether the specimen in hand has the characteristics of any species already described. Sometimes a new species is described from a single specimen, but more often many specimens are compared, and frequently the descriptions of well known species are revised from the study of scores of specimens from different regions, or different varieties are distinguished. But the description of the structure of a species so as to establish its identity is only the beginning of the zoologist's task. He then proceeds to study the life history of the species, even going back into its embryology, and carefully observes its behavior and habits under different environmental conditions. With species of special economic importance or of special interest, this is done not once, but many times by different individuals until agreement is established. This process often requires many years and considerable ex-

penditures of time and money to establish the essential facts concerning a single species. A similar analogy in the field of chemistry concerning the description of chemical elements and the composition of various chemicals would show the same laborious process of description of the primary units of study.

What we now glibly call groups vary from an association of two persons, such as a partnership or marriage, to the nation or the church universal; from informal intimate associations with a high degree of behavior control such as a gang, to a loose association of thousands of persons who never meet and whose chief obligation is to pay their dues, as in national learned societies and other national organizations; from a temporary aggregation such as an audience or crowd, to a permanent institution, such as a university.

In spite of the voluminous literature about groups, there have been relatively few attempts to adequately describe the sociological structure of a given kind of group. Probably the family has received better sociological description than any other group. But even the family has not been described so as to definitively indicate its universal common characteristics and its differences from other groups. One of the best monographs of a group type is Frederic M. Thrasher's *The Gang*, though he attempts no precise definition. I have attempted to do this for the rural community (op. cit.).

Having arrived at the above point of view some years ago,<sup>11</sup> we have been studying the methods of group description in a seminar of graduate students for several years. Our aim has been to discover and arrange in a logical scheme the categories which are essential for the

<sup>9</sup> R. M. MacIver, *Community*, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII, 185-186, Sept. 1927.

description of all kinds of groups, using the term group in its broadest sense. In the descriptions which we have made we have described individual groups, but have given chief attention to formulating a definitive description for a given *kind* of group, such as *the* Boy Scout Troop, *the* college fraternity, *the* rural community, or *the* family. In doing this we have assumed that various groups for which we have common names are distinct kinds or species of groups. Obviously this is not always true, and such an attempt will often reveal the different forms included under a common name. Thus under college fraternity might be included both ordinary fraternities and honor fraternities, such as Phi Beta Kappa, which are essentially different forms of groups. Or, as indicated above, the word church may be applied to groups with very different structure. In making these descriptions we have assumed that the student had a sufficient knowledge of a considerable number of individual groups of a given kind, so that he could generalize fairly with regard to their common distinctive characteristics. It is evident, however, that for exact and truly scientific descriptions of a kind or species of group it would be necessary for the student to describe many individual groups of a given kind before he could determine their specific characteristics, or at least to do as the biologist does and draw up a description from two or three specimens and then check his description with as many other specimens as might be necessary to establish its validity. It should also be noted that we have not usually attempted to describe various individual groups, mostly informal groups, which have not common names. It has been found, however, that the description of certain rather unique individual groups has given important insights into group structure and the categories significant for

description. It is evident, therefore, that we shall need to describe all sorts of individual groups which have no commonly recognized names, as well as those which are commonly recognized as of a certain kind, before we can arrive at any satisfactory criteria for distinguishing different species of groups.

Obviously, many of the categories of description will not apply to all groups, and as we proceed with the description of different kinds of groups new categories will be discovered and the significance and relationships of those used will be changed. The following outline is, therefore, merely a beginning at a logical scheme of description. It is offered as such with the hope that others will show its errors and weaknesses and improve upon it. The main point is to develop a comprehensive scheme for description and then to use it in the careful study of all sorts of groups, so that by comparison and analysis of exact, verified descriptions we may be able to determine the likenesses and differences between different kinds of groups and their characteristic forms of behavior.

This should enable us to discover the *differentia* by which we may distinguish species of groups, and through their classification to establish various classes of groups, which will have definite meaning as do the classes of animals or plants. At present when we speak of a Boy Scout Troup it has a rather specific meaning; it is a distinct kind of group. But if we speak of a boy's club or a church, we do not know what sort of a group is meant, for there are many kinds of boys' clubs and churches. Not every group with a different name necessarily belongs to a different kind of species of group, any more than do individuals with different names. There are hosts of literary clubs with various names, most of which will probably be found to conform to a fairly uni-

## GROUP DISCUSSION

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form type. On the other hand, if we use the word *club* to designate a kind of group, we at once become aware that it has no exact meaning as it is commonly applied to various kinds of groups with very different structures and functions; e.g., card clubs, football clubs, musical clubs, French clubs, etc.

An adequate description of a group seems to involve five major sets of characters. (1) Identity—what limits it or sets it apart from other groups; (2) Composition—the individuals composing the group; (3) Intergroup relations whether the group is independent or is controlled from without; (4) Intra-group relations—forms of interaction between members; and (5) Structure and Mechanism—the established procedures and division of labor for performing specific functions. These characteristics are presented in more detail in the following outline for the description of groups, the items of which will then be briefly explained.

### OUTLINE FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF GROUPS

#### I. Identity

1. Group limits
  - a. Exclusive; as by age, locality, sex, social status.
  - b. Restricted; as when members must subscribe to certain conditions.
  - c. Inclusive; open to all.
2. Entrance and exit; voluntary, involuntary, by election.
3. Identification of members; how recognized as by name, garb or insignia.

#### II. Composition

1. Size or number of elements, i.e. persons or units; kinds of elements.
2. Homogeneity or diversity of membership; degree of common membership in other groups; social distance.
3. Stratification or unification; classes, social distinction.
4. Permanent or shifting membership; stability or instability.

#### III. Inter-group Relationships

1. Independent and autonomous.
2. Federated, semi-autonomous.

3. Chartered—controlled.
4. Degree of dominance.

#### IV. Intra-group Relationships

1. Forms of interaction between members.
  - a. Personal or impersonal, representative, fiduciary.
  - b. Contacts—frequency and character of.
  - c. Participation—forms and degree of.
  - d. Quality or type of participation—competitive, cooperative domestic, fraternal, etc.
  - e. Solidarity—degree of awareness.
  - f. Group control of behavior of members—degree of primary loyalty.
  - g. Group folkways and mores.
  - h. Language peculiarities.
  - i. Place of role of certain individuals.
2. Spatial Relationships
  - a. Area covered.
  - b. Density or dispersity of group.
  - c. Place of meeting.
3. Temporal Relationships.
  - a. Temporary, continuous or seasonal group.
  - b. History and traditions.

#### V. Structure and Mechanism

1. Leader, type and origin (how selected and if from group)
2. Sub-groups, committees.
3. Stated aim and purpose, with or without; unity or diversity, broad or specialized.
4. Code of behavior for members, definite or lacking.
5. Means of consensus; meetings, discussions, journal, parliamentary procedure, etc.
6. Means of developing and maintaining morale.
7. Extent of institutionalization—ritual, ceremonial, insignia, custom, initiation.
8. Mechanisms for group maintenance or preservation.
  - a. Through history and traditions—records, histories.
  - b. Through means for homogeneity—party whip, titling man, committees to secure acquaintance and participation.
  - c. For preventing aggression—price agreements, strikes, lockouts, funds, alliances.
  - d. For preventing crises—vice-president, constitutions, parliamentary procedure, reserve funds.
  - e. For securing adaptation, or revision of organization—inventory, surveys, conventions, special committees.

- f. For secrecy or privacy—oath, pass word, grip, etc.
- g. Physical basis or essential physical equipment—farm family, employees association.

The significance of these categories for the description of groups will be more apparent with a brief explanation of each.

I. IDENTITY. What is it that delimits a group, that gives it a sort of boundary, or sets it off from those who do not belong?

1. *Groups may or may not have prescribed limitations to membership.* Thus some are (a) *exclusive*, such as fraternities, social clubs, organizations of stockholders; others are (b) *restricted*, that is open to all who will conform to certain conditions, as subscribing to a creed to enter a church, or being a college alumna to join the Association of University Women; while some (c) are *inclusive*, or open to all, as a political party, parent-teacher associations, most civic organizations.

2. *Entrance and exit.* One enters a club voluntarily, but he is a member of a family or of a community involuntarily. To some groups he must be elected, while others may be joined without the knowledge of the members.

3. *Identification of members.* A member of a family is recognized by his name; a member of a religious order, the army, or a police department, by his garb; and members of many fraternal orders and fraternities are known by their insignia, pins, keys, or fobs.

## II. COMPOSITION.

1. *Size and Elements.* The number of persons in a group. Some are limited, such as families, fraternities, card clubs, while others desire as large a membership as possible. Some groups are composed of individual persons, while others are composed of individuals who are representatives of their groups.

2. *Homogeneity.* Some groups are con-

fined to one sex, age, or nationality, while others include all types of people. A social club will probably have little social distance between its members, but social distance between the membership may be a limiting factor of a parent-teacher association.

3. *Stratification.* Certain groups very definitely recognize differences of social strata, as in the army between privates and officers, or between freshmen and seniors in a college. Others seek to make stratification impossible, as in a veteran's organization, or a political club.

4. *Permanency.* Some groups, such as the church, have a relatively stable membership; some groups are specially for a certain age or period, as Boy Scouts and the college class; while in some loosely organized groups the membership is short-lived.

III. INTER-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS. A social club is an entirely independent autonomous group. Groups which become federated with others lose some of their independence through the effect of the opinion of the larger group, even though they profess their autonomy. Groups which receive their charters from a higher authority, such as fraternities and fraternal orders, certain churches, and trade unions, thereby limit the form and behavior of the local group to certain prescribed standards.

IV. INTRA-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS involve 1. *the forms of interaction between members.*

(a) The nature of the relationship may be personal as in a family or social club, or impersonal as in a business corporation; it may be representative, as in a legislative body or in many councils or federations; or it may be fiduciary as in the board of directors of a building and loan association or the trustees of a church.

(b) Contacts of members of a group

range from the hourly association of members of the family, to weekly or monthly meetings of many groups, and annual sessions of national organizations. The nature of these contacts ranges from those which involve all members of the group, as in the family, to those which include only a limited portion of the membership.

(c) Participation in the group varies from that which is universal and intimate, as in a family, fraternity, religious order, or military company in war, to the type of passive participation involved in paying annual dues and having practically no active part in the work of the group, as is common in so-called welfare organizations.

(d) The quality of participation is equally varied, from the domestic attitudes of the family, to the competitive attitudes of a bridge club. The neighborhood is characterized by neighborliness, the fraternity by brotherhood, the cooperative association by cooperation, and so on.

(e) The solidarity of groups, or the degree of awareness which each member has of the group and his loyalty to it, may be almost nil, as in a national learned society, or at a maximum as in a gang or a family feud.

(f) Some groups have almost absolute control of the behavior of their members, as in a religious order or in the army; some control their behavior only on matters affecting the special interests of the group, as in a cooperative marketing association; while some have practically no control over behavior outside of the meetings of the group, as would be the case with many special interest groups, such as a philatelic club, or a social club.

(g) Many groups have folkways or mores peculiar to them. Members of the Grange and some fraternal orders call each other "brother" or "sister"; some churches seat the women on one side and

the men on the other; every family has its own folkways and mores; freshmen in colleges must wear caps; games of chance are prohibited in some churches and exploited by others.

(h) Certain groups have language peculiarities, most obvious in groups of foreign nationality, but also in evidence in the "thee" and "thou" of the Quakers.

(i) The rôles of individuals characterize or are peculiar to certain groups, notably in the formation of a football team, in an orchestra, a band or a quartette, and in the husband and wife relation in the family.

2. *Most groups have definite spatial relationships.*

(a) The area covered by the group may be as small as a neighborhood, or as large as a state or nation.

(b) Density and dispersity will vary according to the area covered.

(c) Many groups own buildings which are the homes of such groups as churches, lodges, fraternities, etc.

3. *Temporal Relationships.* Some groups are but temporary and plan to dissolve upon the accomplishment of certain purposes, such as a campaign committee. Others are of relatively short duration, as the college class. Some groups are seasonal, as baseball and football and skiing clubs. Most groups are presumably continuous, although the mortality is high and many become quiescent and then revive. Whether the group has a long and well preserved history and established traditions, is a considerable factor in determining the behavior of the present group.

V. STRUCTURE AND MECHANISM. Every group has certain established means of carrying on its life by the assignment of a division of labor to its members and by certain accepted means of procedure, which form its structure and involve defi-

nite mechanisms. One of the most common of these group mechanisms is the leader.

(a) Does a group have a recognized leader, is he employed or voluntary, is he elected or does he obtain his position by his own efforts?—these are the questions which reveal the leadership characteristics of different sorts of groups.

(b) Some groups have recognized subgroups. Thus a Scout troop is composed of patrols, and a Sunday school of classes; churches have various auxiliary groups; and the work of many organizations is largely handled by committees.

(c) Some groups have stated aims or purposes which dominate their existence, as a reform group or political party. Other groups entirely lack any avowed aim. Parent-teacher associations have rather definite aims, but largely confined to matters of education, whereas the aims of the Grange are very broad and diverse.

(d) If a group has a definite code of behavior for its members, it is a mechanism for group control. The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church is such a code, as is that of a religious order, or the regulations of the army.

(e) Groups which do not have frequent contacts must have means of arriving at consensus of opinion so that they may be able to act collectively. For this purpose meetings are held, at which discussions take place; a record is kept of the procedure so that the actions may be consistent and cumulative; parliamentary procedure is used to ensure fairness in discussion and voting. These are but mechanisms for group procedure.

(f) Means of developing and maintaining morale. Journals or group publications; letters to members; person in charge of newspaper publicity; banquets; reunions; special events.

(g) Old groups which have become

highly institutionalized often develop a very elaborate system of ritual and ceremonial, with the use of insignia and symbols, as in certain churches, in masonic orders, in European universities. The degree to which a group is dominated by such usages or by custom or tradition, as over against an entire informality of procedure, is a difference in group structure.

(h) Certain mechanisms of groups are chiefly for the maintenance or preservation of the life of the group, and are sufficiently indicated under the subheads in the outline above. Certain of these mechanisms are characteristic of some groups and are entirely lacking in others.

(i) Physical basis or essential physical equipment. In the case of certain groups the physical conditions associated with them are essential for understanding them. Thus the farm family cannot be adequately described except as associated with its work on the farm,<sup>12</sup> and a factory group of employees has its existence because of their relation in and to the factory. Likewise the physical equipment of certain groups is essential for their existence and they cannot be conceived without it, as yachts for a yacht club or a golf course for a golf club. Such essential physical equipment would seem to be a part of the group structure.

Not all of the points in the outline will apply to any given group, and only those points which are characteristic of the group should be used in its description. It should be noted that we are considering the description of kinds of groups generically rather than of individual groups. We are concerned with the characteristics of a grange, any grange, which distinguish it from a masonic lodge or a farm bureau. It is a true that the same scheme may be used for the description of an individual

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Sociological Analysis of the Family," *Social Forces*, XII, 178-179, Dec. 1933.

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group and that without the description of many individual groups it will be impossible to draw up a valid generic description of the kind of group.

The method of group description suggested will be better understood by the consideration of a concrete example in which a simple type of voluntary group is briefly described by use of the categories in the outline.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE BOY SCOUT TROOP

A scout troop is exclusively for males 12 years of age and over. Entrance and exit are voluntary, although sometimes entrance is by election. Members may be identified by their uniforms and badges when they are on scout duty. The troop is limited to 32 scouts, composing four patrols, a scoutmaster (21 years or more), and one to four assistant scoutmasters. Homogeneity is rather high in the membership of a successful troop and there is no stratification except that arising from the different classes of scouts according to their attainments. The troop is chartered by the national organization, but otherwise is practically autonomous. Most troops belong to a local council the area of whose jurisdiction varies; it may include a city, a county or two or three counties. Troops compete with each other at council meets. Membership shifts from year to year as boys drop out at 15 or 16.

Relations within the group are personal and have to do with general interests of a more or less recreational nature. Contacts occur at weekly meetings, at sporadic hikes, lasting either for an afternoon or for a week-end, and at summer camps lasting from one to two weeks. Participation is required to the extent of paying national and local dues and attending meetings. Attendance at hikes and camp is optional. Much of the participation consists of working for merit badges. Solidarity is

quite pronounced in successful troops. The quality of participation inculcated is that embodied in the scout laws. Competition exists between patrols, but cooperation occurs within the patrol and within the troop as a whole at inter-troop council meets. The troop exercises no specific control over the behavior of members outside of its meetings, but it exercises considerable influence in attempting to maintain high standards of conduct. The area covered by a troop is usually no greater than that within which members can easily walk or ride on a bicycle to the meeting place. Troops have no spatial jurisdiction; there may be more than one in the same territory. Meetings are usually held in a room at a church, school, or hall, furnished by the sponsoring organization. Most troops last for a number of years, but little is made of their history or tradition.

A troop committee, appointed by the sponsoring organization, finds and appoints the scoutmaster, who is an unpaid leader. Under the scoutmaster are from one to four assistant scoutmasters, and often an older member of the troop is appointed or elected senior patrol leader. Each of the four patrols has a patrol leader and assistant patrol leader. These get their rank by seniority, election, or appointment, as the scoutmaster may decide. The scout oath and twelve scout laws form a code of behavior. Consensus is obtained by meetings and informal discussion. Members are admitted by a formal initiation; the weekly meeting has some form of opening ceremony and the occasions of awarding merit ranks have a definite ritual and insignia.

This is but an outline description and would require considerable elaboration to give one a correct idea of the Boy Scout troop, but it illustrates the manner in which group characteristics may be de-

scribed. Descriptions of a considerable number of kinds of groups have been made by members of the seminar and their study has proven a fruitful method for the better understanding of group characteristics.

## II

The above outline attempts a scheme for the description of group structure. Such a description would enable us to be certain of the identity of a group type and to know its gross anatomy. It does not, however, describe the life of the group. Just as the zoologist must describe not only the structure of an animal, but also its physiology and habits, so the sociologist must describe the characteristic behavior of the group. Two types of behavior characteristic of any type of group may be distinguished: that which occurs within the group, as the worship of a church, the sociability of a card club, or community events in a community; and that which involves the behavior of the group towards other groups, individuals, or objects in its environment, such as the opposition of political parties, the competition of football teams, or the sponsoring of scout troops or welfare organizations by churches. Obviously the behavior of individual groups will vary widely, but whatever behavior patterns are characteristic of each type of group should be adequately described if we are to understand its life; for function is as important as structure. The complete description of a group must include both its structure and its functions—its functions for its own members and its functions in society. For groups performing similar general functions may have widely different structures. Thus a recreation group or a scout troop may be organized democratically or it may be "run" by an adult leader. Religion may be organized with the simplicity of the Quaker meeting with no paid leader

or with the complexity of the Catholic church in which the local church revolves around the priest who receives his prerogatives from the episcopal hierarchy. The functions of the groups, in that they are the means of religious worship, are similar, but the structure is radically different. On the other hand structure may be similar with very different functions. All sorts of clubs have a very similar structure, at least in their form of organization and superficial aspects, but their functions in terms of interests satisfied range from philately to astronomy, and from athletics to Browning. Or as Hoxie<sup>13</sup> has pointed out in his functional analysis of trade unions, those with seemingly similar structure may be ordinary "business" unions or they may be "predatory" unions. The discovery of the categories which will encompass the various characteristic forms of group behavior and their logical arrangement, is a task which must be undertaken before we can have a complete outline for group description.

Finally, it may be questioned as to just what is the practical use of such descriptions of types of groups, were they ideally completed. The most important results undoubtedly cannot be foreseen any more than can those of careful description in any other field of science. Does the chemist ask what use will be made of the discovery of a new element? One very tangible result, which we have already found from the descriptions of groups so far attempted, is that such an exact description reveals the paucity of our knowledge of groups and opens up many problems and lines of research which are essential before we can adequately describe any given group. Another result, already indicated, is that we shall cease to obscure our under-

<sup>13</sup> Robert F. Hoxie, *Trade Unionism in the United States*, pp. 44, 50.

standing by including different kinds of groups under one common sense name. As in other sciences, the purpose of description and classification is not mere taxonomy, but to bring out differences of structure associated with differences of behavior which will enable us to better understand the behavior and to be able to predict what it will be under given conditions. The immediately practical objectives of group description will include the following:

1. For understanding the relation of individuals to the group, and of the influence of the group on the individuals composing it; for example, what is the difference of the relationship of individuals to the group in a church or a grange, as contrasted with a lodge or a farmers' club?

2. For clinical use of the individual group. By comparison of the structure and functioning of an individual group with the usual pattern of this type of group, to determine how it may be improved; and to determine the factors within the group life which condition its success. What sort of organization and relationships are essential for the success of a church, a grange, or any other group, and how do they differ?

3. For determining the adaptability of group structure to certain functions, and consequently what groups are needed for meeting certain needs or functions. For example, the relation of small size and intimacy of personal relations in a group to large membership and power; is the Grange organization adapted to coopera-

tive business enterprise; is the Church a suitable agency for social welfare work?

4. For understanding the relation of a given group or group-class to other kinds of groups, as a basis for determining policies of group relations; for example, what is or should be the relation of the grange or the farm bureau to cooperative associations; or of the church to welfare agencies?

5. For determining policies affecting the general group pattern. For example, should the grange stress its ritual or minimize it? Should the church rely on the usual Sunday School or develop week-day religious education with paid teachers?

If by a thorough analysis and description of the different forms of human association sociology is able to reveal aspects of these phenomena which are not apparent to ordinary common sense observations and concerning which generalizations can be made which will make possible a larger degree of purposive control over them, it will have a definite division of labor in the attempt to apply the method of science to human affairs and it will be able to make a contribution of new knowledge to the technology of human welfare which would not otherwise be available. As we conceive it, therefore, the primary effort of sociology as a science should be the accurate description of the phenomena with which it deals, namely the forms of association, in the family, the community, the church, the school, the lodge, and the numerous organized societies and informal, unorganized groups which are becoming more numerous in modern life.

## A BIOLOGIST LOOKS AT THE PROFIT MOTIVE

C. JUDSON HERRICK

*University of Chicago*

## I

FOR what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" The form of this ancient text has been modernized by Professor Goodspeed to read, "For what good does it do a man to gain the whole world and yet part with his life?" Its substance may be recast in biological terms to clarify the part which profit plays in modern life as we must live it.

Profits are valuable to us; otherwise we would not slave for them as we do. Despite recurrent attacks upon the profit motive, people still work for profit and they are likely to continue to do so. Let us then approach the subject by an examination of the values that we actually work for.

The word "profit" is used in a general and in several special senses. These are contrasted in one of our dictionaries in this way: "1. Any accession or increase of good from labor or exertion, comprehending the acquisition of anything valuable, intellectual or corporeal, temporal or spiritual; advantage of any kind; benefit; return. 2. The return from the employment of capital after deducting the amount paid for raw material and for wages, real or estimated rent, interest, insurance, etc." If we take our departure from the more general of these definitions and arrive at some satisfactory conclusions, the special cases will fit into the picture in their proper places.

Biologists and humanists alike must recognize that life itself is intrinsically profitable to the organisms that experience it. If in any particular individual it isn't, there is something the matter with it, something so serious as to make that life

pathological. If in the broad view life did not yield values to its possessors, and if on the average the good—the profit—did not outweigh the evil—the loss—then life would not endure on this planet. Let pessimists rage; it still is so. In biology the profit is what is good for the organism, not what is morally good. The word has no ethical connotation here, though I venture to say that in the upshot these two classes of goods are probably commensurable because they rest on a common basis.

The foundation of all value, then, is life itself, our successful adjustment to the world in which we live. This involves the satisfaction of our needs. We, all of us in common with every other living thing from fishworms to financiers, must somehow manage to extract from our common environment the materials and energies necessary to keep the vital processes going; and we return to this environment equivalent quantities as the finished products of our activity. The primary profit from all this is the preservation of our own lives, what the biologist calls survival value. On the basis of this elementary physiology many other profits are earned, depending on the inherent capacities of the individual and the opportunities available for their exercise. These other, or higher, profits are our present concern, but we must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that we can enjoy them only on condition that the primary motivation of self-preservation is satisfied.

## II

Survival values may suffice for the countless swarms of bacteria and those myriads of animalcules that compose the "living

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broth of the ocean." These, which are by far the most numerous of living things, may have few values that go beyond this. But, as for us, we are not content with the passive existence of an oyster, to eat and be eaten. We crave a more abundant life, not as measured in the mass by size or numbers, but in terms of what the individual himself gets out of it in the way of wider range of interest, variety, and the satisfaction of the urge for production of something that carries the stamp of his own personal qualities. Whether this stamp is a mere mannerism of speech or dress, a unique skill in sport or industry, or a spark of creative genius in invention, science or art, it is mine own and I am very jealous of it.

Everybody has to make his own living. He makes it, he doesn't find it, and the worth of this life that he makes depends on what he takes from his surroundings, what he does with it, and what kind of products he returns to his world. This principle is equally fundamental in physiology and in sociology.

The worth of any life, then, may be appraised in two ways: first, in terms of externals—what kind of products are made and delivered; or, second, in terms of internals—what satisfactions does the individual experience in the process. The first is wealth, the second is value, and it is important that these be clearly distinguished. A hive of bees produces wealth which can be measured in terms of pounds of honey manufactured per season. This wealth is of value to the bees or to some farmer, depending on who retains possession of it up to the time of consumption, that is, upon whose appetite is satisfied. The wealth in this case is an impersonal, objective commodity which may pass from hand to hand. But the value involves also an inner experience, the satisfaction of a need or desire, which cannot be separated from the individual who has the

experience. Or again, let us take the case of the biologists who discovered the cause of yellow fever. The world is richer in health and in uncounted millions of dollars of earning power; but this knowledge was freely given to the public and the discoverers got no penny of added wealth. What did they get out of it? Nothing, except satisfaction from the performance, and this may have been of more value to them than all the wealth of Henry Ford could yield.

There are profits involved in all of these cases. In fact, the profit motive is a universal and necessary ingredient of the vital process as such, essential not only for the preservation of life itself, but also for every grade of vital achievement, from elementary survival values up to the highest flights of altruism. For altruism is practiced only because it gives satisfaction. The profit motive is the most potent vital agency that we know. We do not want to suppress it and we could not if we would. The practical problems are: What profit is most worth while? And for whom? How shall we direct the operation of the profit motive so as to yield the greatest efficiency and the highest satisfactions, that is, an increment of both wealth and value?

### III

This is the way profit, wealth, and value appear to a naturalist as he surveys them on the plane of general biology. Specialists in other fields look at them from various angles and, of course, their perspective is different. When viewed from the standpoint of economics and government, the confusion of wealth and values is especially pernicious. If profit is restricted to wealth, as in much of current theory, then account is taken of only one side of the relationship which is implicit in every quest for satisfaction; for profit is the "acquisition of anything valuable,"

and a value cannot exist apart from the individual who values it.

The most unhappy people I have ever known are those blasé possessors of inherited wealth whose only surviving interest is how to kill the next half day with least ennui. Having no resources within themselves, the lavish squandering of unlimited wealth is profitless to themselves and everybody else. Wealth can be hoarded, entailed, and dissipated like dew before the morning sun, but values cannot. Each must make his own for himself and they cannot be lost without an impoverishment which destroys the organic basis of any profit.

The key to a true appraisement of profit obviously lies somewhere in the domain of values. If we turn to philosophy for guidance here, we find even greater confusion of standards and principles than in economics. Fortunately for us naturalists, there has recently arisen a school of naturalistic philosophers who, however they may differ about everything else, are on common ground in their definitions of value. They agree with Dewey when he says that there is "no room for a theory of values separate from a theory of nature." Here in brief are some of their definitions:

"True values are the things men set their hearts upon. . . . A value is a permanent possibility of satisfaction."—C. Bouglé. "Satisfaction is the touchstone of value."—George Santayana. "Values are functions of preferences."—E. L. Thorndike. "A value is any object of any interest."—Ralph Barton Perry. "In every value there are two sides, the subject of valuation and the object of value, and the value resides in the relation between the two. . . . Values arise out of our likings and satisfy them."—S. Alexander.

From these quotations it is evident that biology and philosophy here see eye to eye, they speak the same language, and

there is no fallacy of dialectic arising from ambiguous meanings of terms. The satisfaction of needs is a common function of all living things; indeed it is the basic vital process. Values as here defined are intrinsic within nature and hence their study and appraisal fall within the province of natural science. We are now ready to inquire how these principles work out when applied to the vexatious problems of human social adjustments.

#### IV

Optimists and pessimists keep on debating about whether mankind is improving and whether the world is getting better. The question will never be settled by oratory. The conclusion reached by any individual depends in part on what measuring rule he uses for gauging progress but more perhaps on how his liver is working.

As measured by ability of individuals to take care of themselves and make a better living in an unfriendly world there has been unmistakable progress from the first ameboid slime up to the capitalists, the politicians, and the unionized mechanics of the United States of America. The measure of this progress is not the number of individuals who keep themselves from starvation or hold their jobs, but the kinds of jobs they hold. This is as true of beasts as of men. Whether they like their jobs is not taken into account in a survey of the objective tokens of progress. But when we come to human affairs a consideration of the satisfactions that we have in our jobs cannot be dodged. This is what we want—the happiness which comes from satisfaction of needs and desires—and this is what we work for. Any discussion of progress that does not finish here is not likely to get anywhere with most of us. For we know what we want and whether we like what we get in return for our effort.

Progressive evolution in the human realm is a reality if we define progress biologically as increasing ability to extract a good living from the environment. The rate of this progress in standards of living has been much faster in the few thousand years of human culture of which we have written records than ever before in mundane history. And again this rate has been tremendously accelerated during the past hundred years by the application of science to industry. But the question is still debatable, what is a good living on the human plane and are we really getting more satisfaction out of our more abundant life? Is our biological standard adequate here?

Our human standard of progress is still biological, and it is also psychological for we live on a different plane of values. The law of the survival of the fit has not been repealed in the human realm, but the criterion of fitness has been profoundly changed, and no advanced civilization of today can long survive reversion to biological standards which are quite adequate in the jungle. We are slow in learning this, and some nations of advanced culture who are now trying the experiment will sooner or later have to pay the price. The glories of war and aggrandizement of a military ideology which these aggressive imperialists foster and justify by appeal to the law of the jungle will doubtless yield what they claim for them. If they want to see Europe and Asia revert to the jungle, this is the way to go about it. But we in America have other ideals.

The great problems of human progress at the present time are social problems—how to preserve the integrity and efficient working power of our social machinery. One way to do this is by dictatorial regimentation of the entire population and every detail of their conduct and thought by royal decree or by a superman who

claims to know just what is best for everybody in every situation. But this leader would have to be, not a fallible mortal, but a god, and the states which are now trying to operate on this modernized theocratic principle do not seem to be succeeding with it very well. Another way is to equalize everybody so as to be sure that nobody will have any advantage over anybody else. The chief trouble with this program of an ideal socialism is that it can't be done. Mankind is not made that way.

Our ideal of society is no equalitarian dream of base-levelling of the entire population to a common low standard of property, income, productiveness, and complacency. That has been tried over and over again and it has always failed, for it rests on a theory of innate equality which has no counterpart in reality. People are different in their capacities for production and for the enjoyment of the fruits of their labors, and no social or political program which does not take these differences into account can long survive. But this ideal does rest on the common rights of men for opportunity to make the most and the best of themselves.

This is the American ideal of liberty. The freedom that we want is freedom to grow to the limits of our inherent capacities and in directions of our own choosing without undue restriction by tyrannical government, selfish vested interests, social convention, and the taboos of irrational tradition. Now this liberty at its best is inherently and necessarily in conflict with strict equality of all members of any social or political unit. Equality of opportunity we claim as our human birthright, but equality of efficiency, productiveness, property and those values which grow out of successful achievement could be won only at the sacrifice of that personal liberty

which is far more precious to us than property of any kind.

The strongest motivation to which appeal can be made here is the desire for enhancement of personal welfare and satisfactions. This primordial impulse has not been outgrown in any human society, nor is it likely to be displaced by any transfer of the motivation for personal profit to the welfare of the state or any other social group. Values are personal and they can not be diffused or dispersed throughout the group without a corresponding loss in motivating power or else a perversion to undesirable ends by a selfish minority. That some transfer of motivation from the welfare of the individual to that of the social group is essential has already been emphasized, and under stress of emotion in war or religious fervor this may be carried to any extreme. But all experience teaches that a stable social organization cannot be built on this foundation alone.

What we may hope for here is a wider appreciation of the fact that our personal welfare and our most satisfying values are so intimately interwoven with community welfare as to demand, in the interest of self-preservation as well as self-culture, some voluntary renunciation of personal advantage and privilege. Unless there is radical reconstruction of the social fabric along these lines our present civilization is doomed.

## V

As long as we are content to apply ant-hill psychology or ape-and-tiger psychology to the solution of human problems we shall make no headway. Blind impulse is an adequate motivation to yield the remarkable efficiency of a colony of army ants; but the human social structure is designed according to other specifications and here impulse without intelligent control leads surely to perdition. In the

more primitive stages of human cultural development the physiological control by blind impulse seen in the ant society was replaced by the intelligent control of a slave driver over his captives or of the aristocrat over his serfs. So the pyramids were built and many a modern industrial empire. This was Plato's ideal state. But times have changed and with the diffusion of knowledge the masses object to this arrangement, which is not so ideal for them as for their masters. Our social groups and classes are motivated psychologically, not physiologically as in the ant hill, and the slave driver can no longer take the place of physiological motivation. We won't submit to it.

The traditions and temper of our American people rebel against enslavement of the masses enforced either by vested special privilege entrenched in a meshwork of financial sharp practice and corrupt politics or by governmental regimentation enforced by a dictatorship by whatever means this power may have been acquired. Both of these forms of slavery have been justified by their sponsors with appeal to lofty sentiments and humanitarian motives, but they do not fit our situation. We have tried the one with both black slavery and white and various nations have made drastic application of the other, but neither is tolerable under American conditions. No more experimentation along these lines is expedient here. Our people are individualistic; they resent standardization by these methods.

The abuse of financial and political power is met by irrational passion and this can result only in social and political disintegration. Radical changes in our present social, economic, and political organization are overdue and inevitable, and it is our duty as individuals and as members of our social groups to attack the problem intelligently and in a spirit

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of tolerant cooperation. Evolutionary movement is slower than red revolution, but it is generally more economical and stable. This time-honored technique of progress requires more patience and forbearance than some of us can command. Yet it is better, as a rule, to use the resources and appliances now available in any constructive program and make the best of them than to start all over again at scratch by ruthless destruction of the values we now have.

No simple and practical formula for the cure of our social ills has yet been devised. Neither socialism nor capitalism is a panacea; neither will work satisfactorily without a more intelligent motivation of the mass of the people than any existing state has yet attained.

One school of social reform arbitrarily limits the meaning of the word 'profit' so as to embrace only profiteering and the expropriation for one's own advantage of the fruits of the labors of others without adequate return. This appears in many guises, some conservative, some very radical. A strong case can be made against this particular 'profit motive' in all of its variant forms; and the case is equally strong regardless of the pattern of political organization within which the application is made, whether socialistic or capitalistic, a dictatorship or a democracy. Unfortunately with some heedless enthusiasts it seems to be too easy a step from this to fantastic schemes of expropriation and redistribution of wealth which in the upshot come back to the same vicious practices which they profess to attack. The demagogues batten on these unthinking people.

Personal profit of some kind, we reiterate, is the primary and basic biological value and—being organisms—we cannot get away from it or hope to pass beyond it. What we can hope to do is to realize that

our own interests and those of our neighbors have so much in common that a social component necessarily enters into my own motivation, whether or no this is my intent. The intelligent application of this knowledge should enable us to keep the peace with our neighbors and to work with them harmoniously to mutual advantage. But even in the voluntary sacrifice of immediate advantage to public welfare the satisfaction that I get from being neighborly is a personal value. Altruism is voluntarily practiced because it gives me satisfaction, and no other motive can replace this.

We come back, then, to education as the only sound basis for an effective program of social control. And it is effective, as proved experimentally in several European countries where a system of political dogma has been instilled into an entire school generation through an educational system controlled and indoctrinated by an efficient dictatorship. But no dictator is omniscient or infallible, and some of us prefer that our children be trained to think for themselves rather than the way some politician decrees. Political control of an educational system generally ruins it, whether that control emanates from Moscow, Berlin, or the City Council of Chicago.

Education needs support and guidance by the state, but in general it is safer to let each local community muddle through its own problems with a large measure of local control than to trust to indoctrination by political interests. For the American ideal of personal liberty and freedom to form one's own opinion is worth more to us than any dogmas that politicians have yet devised.

More important even than education is investigation, for we should learn before we teach. We have at present no generally accepted science of government that

gets down to first principles and we seem peculiarly stupid when it comes to learning by our own experience in this field.

## VI

We all want life and we want it more abundantly. It is the province of science to point the way, not only toward greater wealth, but more especially toward higher enjoyment of that wealth, toward more profitable living. If it not the fault of science if the profits which she points out are heedlessly squandered. The neatest summary of the actual contribution of science to human welfare that I have seen is this paragraph by Professor Karl T. Compton:

Modern science has given to mankind, for the first time in the history of the human race, a way of securing a more abundant life which does not simply consist in taking it away from some one else. Science really creates wealth and opportunity where they did not exist before. Whereas the old order was based on competition, the new order of science makes possible, for the first time, a cooperative creative effort in which everyone is the gainer, and no one the loser.

These are not the words of a visionary theorist; they are validated by the experience of the most successful industries of our time; and the success of these industries has been in large measure proportional to the skill with which this basic principle has been applied.

In the light of this principle, the more abundant life cannot be expected to issue from a policy of enforced restriction of production and drying up the sources of productivity. The result of this "economy of scarcity" is an increase in the price of commodities which in the upshot lowers the standard of living. The opposite policy of stimulating consumption is a more effective and enduring remedy, and there are better ways of doing this than by squandering public funds on futilities

and in the process corrupting the morale of an industrial population which had already developed a good standard of an honest day's work for a fair wage. The plain teachings of past experience must not be flouted in the interest of political expediency.

Improvement of our social system by executive order can go no faster than is permitted by general acquiescence in the orders issued. Political leadership is discredited and its efficiency as an instrument of social progress is lost when it forcibly imposes its decrees upon an unwilling majority of those upon whose activities production depends. Largess of bread and circuses to the non-productive cannot for long replace voluntary cooperation of the agencies of production.

The most disquieting feature of our present unrest is the encouragement given in high places to the development of class antagonisms and to lawless agencies of industrial warfare. This prostitution of high office—whether in institutions of government, education, commerce or labor—is the most serious antisocial menace of our time. It is as unscientific as it is immoral.

In these matters the tradition and schooling of the past have been too largely in terms of the violence and hatreds inherited from ancient barbarism. There is a better way which was pointed out by President Green of the American Federation of Labor when he said several years ago, "We will rely on facts rather than on force." This policy faithfully followed will substitute rapid and enduring progress for destructive turmoil and constructive growth for revolution, but in the exigencies of our present distress it seems to have been laid aside by prominent leaders of the ranks of both labor and politics.

When a contagious disease is epidemic the state may properly intervene with

quarantine and other restrictive measures, but the only really effective treatment is to discover the cause and then apply preventive measures. So in social disorder the law must sometimes step in and sequester disturbing elements, but for the ultimate cure there is only one remedy—more efficient education of all of us in the fundamentals of civic procedures and responsibilities.

The sort of control that we would like to be able to exercise over conduct—our own and other people's—goes beyond eugenics and restraint by law and penalty. These should not be ignored, for they are tools useful in their places. But no Act of Congress, no fear of hell-fire, no shrinking from what "they say," will make the mass of people behave in any particular way unless they want to behave that way. We don't need any statistics to prove that.

Not many years ago when the City Fathers of Chicago, in their rôle as custodians of the people's morals, passed ordinances regulating the length of skirts and wearing of stockings on the municipal bathing beaches, what was the result? All the women promptly discarded both skirts and stockings, and what could the anguished Fathers do about it?

Control of conduct by taboo and by the power of the priest and the police has its place among primitive peoples and for the unthinking people in our midst. But most of our people are learning to think—very slowly and crudely, it is true—and thinking people can no longer be bell-weathered in this old-fashioned way.

When social motives are intelligently analyzed and appraised, no police power is needed to keep us at our jobs and restrain us from antisocial conduct. We do some

things because we are compelled to do them by stress of external circumstances or by the laws of the land. But by far the larger and better part of our conduct is determined by the laws of our own internal makeup, because we think this is the appropriate way to act. What we require is not "permissive freedom," a license granted by constituted authority, but a freedom that comes by natural growth and by common consent. This unchallenged liberty comes to expression spontaneously in that realm which has been happily characterized by Lord Moulton as the "domain of manners" or "the domain of obedience to the unenforceable, which covers all cases of right doing where there is no one to make you do it but yourself." Here, as Huxley said, "a man's worst difficulties begin when he is able to do as he likes," but this is the price which must be paid for freedom and our highest satisfactions.

We set our moral values at the top of the scale because, in the first place, they are worth more as measured objectively by their cultural effect upon the progress of civilization. They have under present conditions actual survival value in the maintenance of workable commercial, political, and international relations. But there is a second and more intimate reason for giving them this rank, because the individual who freely chooses to conform his conduct with his own moral code finds that this is his pathway to peace and contentment. This is what we want, and as we are constituted there is no other way to get it. The way is hard and we often fail, but such success as we have brings out the best there is in us and yields to us the best that we can want.

## MIGRATION AND THE GROWTH OF CITIES

HAROLD F. DORN

*Arlington, Virginia*

THE rapid settlement of the territory west of the Mississippi River has given rise to the impression that the westward migration was mainly agricultural. The settling of the prairies and the Great Plains by native and foreign-born migrants has been dramatically chronicled in numerous novels as well as in the more sober pages of history text-books. But a large proportion of the westward migrants, as well as of those to other parts of the nation, were attracted by opportunities in mining and business rather than in agriculture. In 1900, about one-third of the persons born outside, but living in the states of California, Oregon, and Washington, were living in places with 25,000 or more residents.

The increase in urban population, although less spectacular than the peopling of the prairies, has been fully as remarkable. The first census in 1790 reported that the six cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants had a combined population of only 131,000 or 3.3 per cent of the total population. The Fifteenth Census in 1930 showed 1,208 incorporated places with 8,000 or more inhabitants whose combined population, 60,333,000, was 49.1 per cent of the total. During this interval, the population of places with 8,000 or more inhabitants increased 461 times, while the population of the places of less than 8,000 inhabitants increased 16 times.

The almost endless stream of foreign-born immigrants who settled mainly in cities of the Northeast and Middle West diverted attention from the native migrants, who were almost as numerous. At the end of the last century, 11,100,000 of the 19,800,000 persons living in cities

of 25,000 or more population were born in the respective states where the cities were located, 3,500,000 were born in other states, and 5,200,000 were foreign born. If the persons born in the same state where each city was located but who subsequently had migrated to a city were added to the 3,500,000 migrants from other states, the number of native born migrants to these cities undoubtedly would be practically as large as the number of foreign-born immigrants.

Even so, the relative importance of immigrants from abroad in the population increase of cities should not be unduly minimized. Between 1900 and 1910 the increase in the foreign-born population of New York City and Chicago was equal to approximately 25 per cent of the total population of the nation at the close of the Revolutionary War and practically equalled the increase in total population during the same period in the eight states of North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona.

Since the early days of the nation, it is doubtful if the cities have produced more than 50 per cent of their population. The census of 1900 reported that 56.2 per cent of the total population of all cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants were born in the state where the city was located. But an appreciable proportion of this number had migrated to the city, where they were residing on the census date, from other parts of the state. Although this proportion is unknown, it undoubtedly was large enough to reduce the proportion who actually were born in cities to 50 per cent or less.

During the last decade, when for the first time fairly accurate estimates can be made, about 10 per cent of the total increase in the urban population resulted from annexations and reclassification of rural territory due to increase in population, 16 per cent came from immigration from abroad, 28 per cent from net migration from rural areas, and only 46 per cent from natural increase. Although past records of migration are quite unsatisfactory, this appears to be fairly typical of

course, the reverse is equally true also. The amount of migration to cities is understated since only migrants from outside the state are counted. It is impossible to accurately determine the number of urban residents who were born in rural territory in the state where they lived in 1930 but it probably is relatively large for many cities.

Four out of every ten urban residents in 1930 were migrants from outside the state where each city is located. Seventy-seven

TABLE I. PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BORN IN STATE, BORN IN OTHER STATES, AND FOREIGN BORN, IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: BY REGIONS, 1930\*

| REGION                  | URBAN         |                      |              | RURAL         |                      |              |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
|                         | Born in state | Born in other states | Foreign born | Born in state | Born in other states | Foreign born |
| United States.....      | 59.8          | 23.3                 | 16.3         | 77.0          | 17.3                 | 5.5          |
| New England.....        | 61.0          | 13.7                 | 25.0         | 69.2          | 15.9                 | 14.7         |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 62.6          | 13.6                 | 23.3         | 78.6          | 10.6                 | 10.4         |
| East North Central..... | 60.2          | 23.3                 | 16.2         | 79.0          | 14.2                 | 6.6          |
| West North Central..... | 59.8          | 30.4                 | 9.3          | 71.0          | 21.5                 | 7.3          |
| South Atlantic.....     | 68.1          | 27.4                 | 4.1          | 87.4          | 11.7                 | 0.8          |
| East South Central..... | 75.2          | 23.0                 | 1.5          | 91.3          | 8.3                  | 0.2          |
| West South Central..... | 64.2          | 29.8                 | 5.5          | 74.8          | 22.6                 | 2.5          |
| Mountain.....           | 42.1          | 45.7                 | 11.4         | 49.6          | 40.2                 | 9.7          |
| Pacific.....            | 32.3          | 48.0                 | 18.3         | 41.2          | 41.2                 | 16.1         |

\* The sums of these percentages do not equal 100 due to the omission of persons with unknown birthplace.

the way urban areas have increased, at least in recent decades.

The importance of migration in the growth of different-sized communities, as revealed by the 1930 census, is shown in Table I. The weaknesses of state-of-birth statistics are well known and need not be elaborated here. It should be remembered, however, that a certain proportion of the migrants who were living in urban areas in 1930 may originally have settled in the rural area of the state where they were enumerated and later moved to urban territory some time prior to 1930. Of

of every hundred rural residents were born in the state where they lived in 1930. These averages, however, conceal the wide variability that exists in different parts of the country. For both the rural and urban population, the largest proportion of migrants was in the Mountain and Pacific States and the smallest proportion was in the Southern States.

In the Far West, two out of every three city residents were born outside the state; in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, three out of every four were living in the state where they were born.

In the rest of the nation, the relative number of persons born outside the state of residence was fairly close to the average of the entire country. Native born migrants were relatively less numerous in the urban areas of the New England and Middle Atlantic States than in any other part of the country. Here only 13 per cent of the total urban population were native born migrants, just slightly more than one-half the proportion in the Great Lakes States and in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, the next regions in rank. Measured in absolute numbers, however, more native born migrants lived in the three Middle Atlantic States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, than in any other region except the five Great Lakes States of the East North Central Region. The 6,300,000 foreign-born immigrants living in the cities of New England and the Middle Atlantic States so far outnumbered the 3,600,000 native migrants in the same cities that the latter made up a relatively small proportion of the total population. The remaining foreign-born immigrants in urban areas lived mainly around the Great Lakes and in the Far West. Only in the urban areas of the New England and Middle Atlantic States did the foreign-born immigrants outnumber the native migrants.

In rural areas, native migrants outnumbered foreign-born immigrants more than three to one. Outside the Northeast and the Pacific Coast States, the latter were relatively unimportant. In 1930, nearly two out of every three native migrants (who had left their state of birth) and four out of five foreign-born immigrants were living in urban areas. The remaining migrants living in rural areas were fairly well distributed throughout the country, with the exception of the East South Central States. It is interesting to note that in spite of the prevailingly west-

ward movement of the population, considerable numbers of migrants have gone to all parts of the nation, except to the four states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. Here, however, nine out of every ten persons living in rural territory in 1930 were born in the state where they resided.

The proportion of migrants increases directly with the size of the community (Table 2). On farms, eight out of every ten persons were born in the state of residence in 1930; in the large cities of 200,000 or more population only about five persons in ten were born in the state of residence. The main exceptions to this generalization are the cities of 100,000 or more population in the Mountain and West South Central Regions. In the former region, there are only two cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, while in the latter, the cities of 100,000 to 200,000 population are heavily weighted by cities in Oklahoma. The lowest proportion of persons born in the state of residence, 2.6 per cent, was in the population of the cities of 100,000 to 200,000 inhabitants in the Pacific Coast; the highest proportion, 93.7 per cent, was in the rural-farm population of the East South Central States.

In 75 of the 93 cities of more than 100,000 population in 1930, at least one-third of the total number of inhabitants were born in foreign countries or in other states than that in which they were living. In 26 large cities, headed by Reading, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond, and Atlanta, more than two out of every three residents were born in the state of residence (Table 3). In nine large cities, Long Beach, Los Angeles, San Diego, Miami, Gary, Seattle, Tulsa, Spokane, and Portland, Oregon, more than two out of every three residents were born outside the state where they lived in 1930.

The growth of most of the southern

## MIGRATION AND GROWTH OF CITIES

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BORN IN STATE, BORN IN OTHER STATES, AND FOREIGN BORN, IN DIFFERENT-SIZED COMMUNITIES: BY REGIONS, 1930\*

| REGION                  | 100,000<br>AND<br>OVER | 100,000-<br>200,000 | 50,000-<br>100,000 | 2,500-<br>50,000 | RURAL-<br>NON-<br>FARM | RURAL-<br>FARM |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Born in state           |                        |                     |                    |                  |                        |                |
| United States.....      | 55.1                   | 56.6                | 62.1               | 65.5             | 70.8                   | 81.8           |
| New England.....        | 58.9                   | 58.0                | 61.0               | 63.0             | 67.3                   | 74.1           |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 58.4                   | 65.9                | 65.6               | 69.0             | 76.2                   | 84.8           |
| East North Central..... | 53.4                   | 59.4                | 58.0               | 70.6             | 74.6                   | 82.8           |
| West North Central..... | 57.2                   | 53.6                | 62.0               | 63.0             | 65.2                   | 74.2           |
| South Atlantic.....     | 62.6                   | 55.3                | 73.4               | 73.6             | 79.1                   | 93.4           |
| East South Central..... | 68.0                   | 73.2                | 77.1               | 79.8             | 85.6                   | 93.7           |
| West South Central..... | 72.0                   | 46.1                | 63.4               | 65.0             | 69.6                   | 77.1           |
| Mountain.....           | 35.9                   | 60.4                | 39.4               | 41.0             | 46.9                   | 52.2           |
| Pacific.....            | 31.4                   | 26.0                | 37.0               | 35.6             | 37.5                   | 46.3           |
| Born in other states    |                        |                     |                    |                  |                        |                |
| United States.....      | 22.5                   | 27.5                | 23.4               | 23.2             | 21.4                   | 14.1           |
| New England.....        | 11.8                   | 14.0                | 12.4               | 14.5             | 17.0                   | 12.7           |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 12.3                   | 13.9                | 16.0               | 15.3             | 11.7                   | 7.8            |
| East North Central..... | 25.0                   | 27.4                | 25.8               | 19.6             | 17.4                   | 11.3           |
| West North Central..... | 30.2                   | 36.1                | 30.1               | 29.4             | 26.4                   | 18.8           |
| South Atlantic.....     | 29.7                   | 37.1                | 24.3               | 24.1             | 19.2                   | 6.3            |
| East South Central..... | 29.1                   | 25.4                | 20.3               | 19.1             | 13.8                   | 6.2            |
| West South Central..... | 20.2                   | 45.4                | 31.9               | 30.7             | 27.2                   | 20.5           |
| Mountain.....           | 52.2                   | 26.1                | 47.8               | 47.3             | 41.0                   | 39.4           |
| Pacific.....            | 46.3                   | 58.6                | 45.6               | 48.1             | 45.7                   | 34.7           |
| Foreign born            |                        |                     |                    |                  |                        |                |
| United States.....      | 21.7                   | 15.5                | 14.0               | 11.0             | 7.3                    | 4.1            |
| New England.....        | 28.9                   | 27.1                | 26.4               | 22.2             | 15.3                   | 12.9           |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 28.5                   | 19.8                | 18.3               | 15.5             | 11.5                   | 7.4            |
| East North Central..... | 21.1                   | 13.0                | 15.6               | 9.8              | 7.5                    | 5.8            |
| West North Central..... | 12.1                   | 9.7                 | 7.2                | 7.1              | 8.1                    | 6.9            |
| South Atlantic.....     | 7.1                    | 7.2                 | 2.0                | 2.0              | 1.6                    | 0.3            |
| East South Central..... | 2.5                    | 1.1                 | 2.4                | 1.0              | 0.5                    | 0.1            |
| West South Central..... | 7.2                    | 8.1                 | 4.3                | 4.0              | 3.1                    | 2.3            |
| Mountain.....           | 11.4                   | 12.9                | 12.3               | 11.1             | 11.5                   | 8.0            |
| Pacific.....            | 21.3                   | 14.3                | 16.3               | 15.2             | 15.1                   | 17.4           |

\* The sums of these percentages do not equal 100 due to the omission of persons with unknown birthplace.

cities, except those in Florida, has been due mainly to natural increase and migration from other parts of the same state. With the exception of Hartford, Connecti-

cut, the cities of the Northeast have gained one-third or more of their native migrant population from the South, especially from Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Ala-

bama, and Georgia. More than one-half of the migrants to cities in this area, however, were born in foreign countries.

In contrast, the cities of the War West, except San Francisco, owe about one-half of their increase in population to migration from other states, especially from the agricultural states of the Middle West. Los Angeles has attracted nearly a quarter of a million residents from Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Ohio. The migration to

Some insight into the probable future growth of different cities can be obtained from an analysis of the source of population increase during the decade of the twenties. In general, cities attracting a large number of migrants possess economic and social advantages over cities attracting few migrants. People tend to migrate to areas where the opportunities are believed to be superior to those at home. Due to inaccurate information, many mistakes

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION WHICH WAS BORN IN THE STATE OF RESIDENCE FOR SELECTED CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE POPULATION: 1930

| CITY             | PER CENT | CITY                   | PER CENT |
|------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| Reading.....     | 86.2     | Long Beach.....        | 16.9     |
| Nashville.....   | 84.5     | Los Angeles.....       | 20.3     |
| New Orleans..... | 82.9     | San Diego.....         | 22.6     |
| Atlanta.....     | 80.2     | Miami.....             | 26.9     |
| Richmond.....    | 80.2     | Gary.....              | 30.6     |
| Louisville.....  | 78.7     | Seattle.....           | 30.7     |
| Knoxville.....   | 77.9     | Tulsa.....             | 32.2     |
| Scranton.....    | 76.5     | Spokane.....           | 32.3     |
| Albany.....      | 74.8     | Portland.....          | 33.2     |
| Birmingham.....  | 73.5     | Denver.....            | 35.9     |
| Syracuse.....    | 73.1     | Tacoma.....            | 36.1     |
| Utica.....       | 72.7     | Washington, D. C.....  | 37.1     |
| Columbus.....    | 72.6     | El Paso.....           | 38.4     |
| Baltimore.....   | 72.0     | Oklahoma City.....     | 39.6     |
| Peoria.....      | 71.8     | Jacksonville.....      | 41.0     |
| Eric.....        | 71.4     | Detroit.....           | 42.5     |
| Fort Worth.....  | 70.3     | Oakland.....           | 43.5     |
| Pittsburgh.....  | 70.0     | San Francisco.....     | 43.8     |
| Fort Wayne.....  | 69.5     | Kansas City, Kans..... | 44.6     |
| Dallas.....      | 68.6     | Akron.....             | 47.6     |

Los Angeles County between 1920 and 1930 undoubtedly represents the greatest single mass migration in the history of the nation. Although only 27 per cent of the total population of California lived in Los Angeles County in 1920, 56.5 per cent of the increase in total population of the state during the following decade took place in Los Angeles County. Approximately 1,177,000 persons moved into the county from other parts of California, other states, and from foreign countries.

occur, so that the adjustment between opportunity and migration is far from perfect. The assumption that the areas to which people were migrating in the past will also be the areas to which migrants will go in the future is true only insofar as the present distribution of economic and social opportunities is not appreciably changed. It would be foolhardy to insist that such will be the case except in a general way. The extent and rapidity of the decline of New England industries and

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the increase in industry in the South cannot be accurately determined at present. Admitting these qualifications, it is interesting to note the trend in the distribu-

pretation of the data in Tables 4 and 5. They represent net change only. Moreover a certain proportion of the increase in the number of residents in any sized

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, THE NUMBER OF PERSONS BORN IN THE STATE, PERSONS BORN IN OTHER STATES, AND PERSONS BORN IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES: URBAN AND RURAL, BY REGIONS, UNITED STATES, 1920-30\*

| REGION                  | URBAN         |                      |              | RURAL         |                      |              |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
|                         | Born in state | Born in other states | Foreign born | Born in state | Born in other states | Foreign born |
| United States.....      | 28.7          | 40.6                 | 7.1          | 6.2           | 5.3                  | -13.6        |
| New England.....        | 14.1          | 5.8                  | -4.8         | 18.9          | 32.8                 | 18.2         |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 21.8          | 50.2                 | 10.7         | 4.5           | 29.7                 | -10.0        |
| East North Central..... | 28.6          | 50.1                 | 7.6          | 1.8           | 10.2                 | -20.9        |
| West North Central..... | 29.6          | 11.3                 | -15.3        | 6.8           | -11.7                | -15.9        |
| South Atlantic.....     | 28.9          | 45.4                 | 0.2          | 2.6           | 25.5                 | -12.7        |
| East South Central..... | 40.9          | 41.3                 | -13.3        | 3.1           | 3.7                  | -29.6        |
| West South Central..... | 63.6          | 34.7                 | 8.7          | 13.4          | -7.9                 | -18.1        |
| Mountain.....           | 41.1          | 16.3                 | -10.8        | 22.3          | -1.5                 | -22.4        |
| Pacific.....            | 59.6          | 68.9                 | 37.6         | 28.1          | 32.0                 | 8.2          |

\* Negative signs indicate a decrease in population. It should be remembered that the change in the number of persons born in the state comes from (1) natural increase, (2) rural-urban migration within each state, and (3) intra-state migration. Similarly the change in the number of persons born in other states comes from (1) interstate migration, and (2) intra-state rural-urban migration.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF THE INCREASE IN NATIVE POPULATION DUE TO PERSONS BORN IN OTHER STATES IN DIFFERENT-SIZED COMMUNITIES: BY REGIONS, UNITED STATES, 1920-30\*

| REGION                  | RURAL  | URBAN | 2,500-50,000 | 50,000-100,000 | 100,000-200,000 | 200,000 AND OVER |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| United States.....      | 16.3   | 33.6  | 27.7         | 32.4           | 39.5            | 39.1             |
| New England.....        | 26.2   | 9.1   | 12.9         | 10.5           | 2.5             | -0.2             |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 41.6   | 28.8  | 26.8         | 28.2           | 33.7            | 30.7             |
| East North Central..... | 48.8   | 36.9  | 24.4         | 37.5           | 38.8            | 45.1             |
| West North Central..... | -164.5 | 18.4  | 12.6         | 14.6           | 24.3            | 26.1             |
| South Atlantic.....     | 51.8   | 35.9  | 33.4         | 30.0           | 56.6            | 32.5             |
| East South Central..... | 9.8    | 23.6  | 17.3         | 19.7           | 31.3            | 29.8             |
| West South Central..... | -28.2  | 23.5  | 17.7         | 30.9           | 39.6            | 20.7             |
| Mountain.....           | -7.1   | 34.3  | 38.5         | 34.6           | 4.1             | 32.1             |
| Pacific.....            | 52.4   | 61.8  | 58.7         | 60.6           | 65.1            | 64.1             |

\* Negative signs indicate a decrease in population.

tion of urban population, as revealed by an analysis of the source of increase during the last intercensal period.

Care should be exercised in the inter-

community who were born outside of the state resulted from inter-community migration of persons who had originally migrated to the state prior to 1920. Cities

were grouped according to size on the basis of the 1930 census, except for those with 2,500 to 50,000 inhabitants. The increase in population for this group of small cities and for the rural population is based on a changing area, since it was not possible to obtain data for the same areas at both census dates. The error involved does not seem important.

In the urban population of the entire country, the relative increase in the number of persons born in other states was much greater than the relative increase in the number of persons born in the state of

of the South Atlantic States, the relative increase in the number of persons born in other states was well above the corresponding average for the entire country. The absolute increase for the urban population was less than that in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central and Pacific regions but the absolute increase in the number of persons born in other states but living in the rural population of the South Atlantic States was greater than the corresponding increase in every region except the Pacific.

Since the number of foreign-born per-

TABLE 6. CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF NATIVE BORN PERSONS WHO WERE BORN IN THE STATE AND WHO WERE BORN OUTSIDE THE STATE OF RESIDENCE, URBAN AND RURAL: BY REGIONS, 1920-30

| REGION                  | BORN IN STATE    |                  | BORN OUT OF STATE |                  |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
|                         | Urban            | Rural            | Urban             | Rural            |
|                         | <i>thousands</i> | <i>thousands</i> | <i>thousands</i>  | <i>thousands</i> |
| United States.....      | 9,193            | 2,414            | 4,644             | 470              |
| New England.....        | 476              | 204              | 47                | 73               |
| Middle Atlantic.....    | 2,281            | 199              | 924               | 142              |
| East North Central..... | 2,245            | 117              | 1,311             | 112              |
| West North Central..... | 761              | 350              | 172               | -219             |
| South Atlantic.....     | 870              | 222              | 487               | 239              |
| East South Central..... | 607              | 195              | 187               | 21               |
| West South Central..... | 1,107            | 682              | 340               | -150             |
| Mountain.....           | 179              | 203              | 94                | -13              |
| Pacific.....            | 668              | 240              | 1,083             | 266              |

residence. It is significant, however, that the contrary was true in New England and in the states between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. Moreover, the number of persons born in other states but living in the rural population of this same group of states, excepting New England, actually decreased between 1920 and 1930. Except for a few large cities and a few restricted rural areas, the number of migrants born outside each state was less than the number of deaths and emigrants from the corresponding population living in this area in 1920.

In both the rural and urban population

sons either decreased or increased very slightly in nearly all parts of the country, the data in Table 5 are based on the native population only.

With the exception of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, migrants from outside the state formed a larger proportion of the increase in the native population in the rural than in the urban population for the entire area east of the Mississippi River. This does not necessarily mean that the number of out-of-state migrants to rural areas was greater than the number to urban areas. This was true only in New England (Table 6).

In the other states, the number of out-of-state migrants to rural areas was much less than the corresponding number to urban areas. The percentages in Table 5 reflect the fact that a large number of persons migrate from rural to urban areas within the same state. In the South Atlantic and Pacific States, more than one-half of the increase in native rural population came from persons born outside the state. It should be remembered that a certain proportion of these persons may possibly have moved to cities in the respective states prior to 1920 and moved from urban to rural territory between 1920 to 1930.

The number of out-of-state migrants to the rural areas of the states between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains was less than the loss from death and emigration of the migrants living in these states in 1920. Consequently, the number of rural residents born outside these states was less in 1930 than ten years previously.

For the country as a whole, the proportion of the increase in native population due to persons born outside the state increased with the size of the city. In the New England States, however, the opposite was true. In fact, the number of native migrants in the cities of more than 200,000 population (Boston and Providence) decreased slightly. This undoubtedly reflects the decline of New England industry and the movement of textile plants to the South Atlantic States. Although Maine and Vermont have been areas of emigration for several decades, the remaining New England States have attracted migrants since the beginning of the century. With the practical cessation of foreign-born immigration, the cities in New England will have to depend almost entirely upon the natural increase of their present population and upon migration from within the state for increase in population. As a whole, these cities will in-

crease very slowly and a considerable number will probably experience a decrease in population by 1940. This will be less true for the cities in Connecticut, which are influenced by growth of the New York City metropolitan area.

The importance of migration in the increase of population in all sizes of places in the South Atlantic States undoubtedly results from the increasing industrialization of this area. The high proportion of native migrants in the population increase of the cities of 100,000 to 200,000 inhabitants reflects the attractiveness of Florida, but even in the other-sized places, migrants made up about one-third of the increase in native population. Only in the cities on the Pacific coast and around the Great Lakes was the proportion of migrants larger than in the cities of the South Atlantic States. Numerically, however, the number of migrants to the cities in this area was not large, since most of the cities are fairly small.

Comparison of the data in Tables 1, 2, and 5 shows that the urban areas of the New England, West North Central, West South Central, and Mountain States were losing their attractiveness to migrants during the past decade. The cities of the Middle Atlantic States, the Great Lakes States, the states on the Pacific Coast, and the South Atlantic States obtained a larger proportion of their increase in population from outside the state than previously.

Unless unforeseen developments occur, the general pattern of urban growth, at least for the next decade or two, may be expected to be somewhat as follows. The population of the cities of New England, except those in Connecticut, will increase very slowly. Many will doubtless experience losses in population. Similarly, the cities west of the Mississippi River, with the exception of those on the Pacific Coast, will have to depend largely upon the natu-

ral increase of their present population and upon the natural increase of the states where they are located for increase in population.

The most rapidly growing cities will be those in the New York City Metropolitan area, in Pennsylvania, in the Great Lakes States, on the Pacific coast, and along the South Atlantic coast. The rate of growth of the cities in Washington, Oregon, and California will quite likely be much slower than during the past decade, since their natural increase is among the smallest in the entire nation, and since migration to this area cannot be expected to continue with the same magnitude as during the past decade.

The rate of growth of the cities in the South Atlantic States will depend largely upon the rapidity with which industry develops in this area. If the development of industry offers sufficient employment opportunities, the urban population of this area may increase more rapidly than that in any other part of the country, since this is an area of surplus rural population. Insofar as actual numbers are concerned, however, it will be several decades before the cities in this area will rival those of the Middle Atlantic and East North Central States.

If present trends continue, the South Atlantic States will be an area of rapid social change. The growth of an urban industrial culture in the midst of rural poverty must almost inevitably be attended with conflict. An urban population composed of persons with the rural habits and low standards of living characteristic of the farm families in these states presages problems of municipal development and administration equal to those created by the hordes of foreign immigrants who flocked to northern cities around the turn of the century. To date, Negroes have shown a decided preference

for northern cities. If southern industries offer sufficient employment opportunities, the competition between the races will increase rather than abate the present conflict.

It is difficult for many people to believe that a large proportion of the cities outside the regions mentioned above will grow very slowly or even decrease in population in the immediate future. The above statements should not be interpreted to mean that all the cities in the Middle Atlantic, Great Lakes, Pacific, and South Atlantic States will increase in population. Indeed, several cities in these states can expect little or no increase in population.

In the past, the number of available migrants has been sufficiently large, so that all parts of the country have participated in the increase in population. Migrants have gone to many areas expecting that new developments would provide opportunities for them. But such days are past. No longer can a migrant create his own employment and be carried along by an upward secular trend in economic development. It seems likely that the areas of population increase will be more concentrated and will be centered in the areas offering industrial and commercial employment opportunities. The cities outside these areas almost certainly will grow more slowly.

At the present time, the rate of natural increase of the population of the large cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants is about 20 per cent below that necessary to permanently maintain the present population.<sup>1</sup> Some persons believe that such computations are made for the entertainment of idle statisticians and that they have only an indirect relation to reality.

<sup>1</sup> Harold F. Dorn and Frank Lorimer: "Migration, Reproduction and Population Adjustment," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (November 1936), p. 285.

The date at which such calculations will come true is some time in the distant future which may never come.

Of course, nobody can accurately determine the exact time at which deaths will exceed births in the urban areas of the country. But there can be no doubt of the direction of the trend. Fairly accurate estimates show that the actual excess of births over deaths decreased about one-

counties of New York State, more deaths than births have been registered since 1932 after births and deaths were allocated to the place of residence. There are other areas where the number of births only slightly exceeds the number of deaths.

These examples have been cited not to arouse a feeling of alarm at the possibility of a declining population but to make plain that the days of universal rapid city

TABLE 7. RELATIVE CHANGE IN ESTIMATED AVERAGE ANNUAL BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND NATURAL INCREASE, BY RACE: UNITED STATES, 1920-34

| YEARS   | BIRTHS |       |       | DEATHS |       |       | NATURAL INCREASE |       |       |
|---------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|------------------|-------|-------|
|         | Total  | White | Negro | Total  | White | Negro | Total            | White | Negro |
| 1920-24 | 100    | 100   | 100   | 100    | 100   | 100   | 100              | 100   | 100   |
| 1925-29 | 94     | 93    | 100   | 106    | 105   | 112   | 83               | 83    | 84    |
| 1930-34 | 84     | 81    | 91    | 104    | 104   | 103   | 65               | 65    | 74    |

Data for 1920-29 from estimates prepared by the Scripps Foundation. See Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton: *Population Trends in the United States*, p. 301.

third between 1920 and 1934. Since then the total number of births has slowly decreased and the number of deaths increased.

Since 1931 more deaths than births have been recorded in the white population of the San Francisco-Oakland area (Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, and San Mateo Counties). More white deaths than births have been recorded in Los Angeles since 1933. In one-third of the

growth are at an end, at least for the time being. The cessation of rapid increase in urban population in most parts of the country need not be regarded as a sign of deterioration but rather as an opportunity for improving the environment in which city dwellers live. Perhaps cities will in the future take pride in the healthy and pleasing living conditions provided for their residents, rather than in the rapidity with which their population is increasing.

#### A NEW BUREAU

The following news item regarding one of the developments in social science investigation within newer governmental organizations comes from the office of Maurice T. Price, acting head of the Human Dependency Unit since July 1, 1937.

The inclusion of Indian reservations within the Soil Conservation Service required an adaptation of its land-use programs to some of the peculiarities of the Indians and their problems. The result was a division of the Federal organization called "Technical Cooperation—Bureau of Indian Affairs," with one unit for "Technical" surveys (engineering, soils, water, agronomic, range, erosion, etc.) and another for "Human Dependency" surveys (land-ownership, land-tenure, land-use, income, social organization, etc.). The latter unit is responsible for utilizing its own and the technical units' findings to assess the apportionment and adequacy of the resources of any given reservation studied, and to outline plans for land-consolidation, land-use, population distribution, etc.

## THE CONTENT OF RADIO PROGRAMS, 1925-1935

WILLIAM ALBIG

*University of Illinois*

## I

DURING the past two decades there has been a developing emphasis in American social theory on the description of and processes of social change. From the mass of material already accumulated a picture of related changing elements is emerging, the details of which are in many respects quite different from popular conceptions. If nothing more had been accomplished than to show this discrepancy, the effort expended on these descriptive studies of change would have been justified. But from this interest there has also come a significant accretion to the methods of social studies. Preoccupation with trends and sequences has often proved no bad discipline for training in a sharper definition of the problem and of the units, where measurement was involved. Latterly, methods for recording some of the more subtle aspects of culture change have been tentatively put forward.

Early studies of content of the newspaper, books, periodicals, motion pictures, and radio were not conceived in terms of trends of content but were concerned with problems of sampling, of classification, of units of measurement. Yet it is in showing changes by time sequences that these studies may be most meaningful. For example, one may question whether column-inch records provide the most significant unit of measurement of newspaper content, maintaining that position in the paper, quality of writing, the appeal of special features, etc., may be more important than space, and yet be quite willing to grant that from a series of such column-inch measurements significant changes may be noted. Before turning to

a study of a series, based on the time given to different types of radio programs from 1925 to 1935, we may review briefly the development of various types of studies of content.

Of the many organized but non-quantitative studies of the content of media of communication there are the various services summarizing news; resumés of particular sections of the newspaper; historical studies of the newspaper for a special content, such as Irene C. Willis' *England's Holy War*; the content of different classifications of books such as reviews of family folkways and mores as portrayed in contemporary novels; or surveys of content of textbooks as in the work of Bessie L. Pierce, Donald R. Taft or Prof. C. J. H. Hayes' volume on France;<sup>1</sup> the study of the language forms of sections of the newspaper or the radio; and many other types of analysis. But we may limit our interest here to the quantitative studies of content.

(1) The most extensive list of such studies deals with the subject matter of the newspapers. The larger question is, of course, the influence of the newspaper content on the readers and the way in which known reader attitudes affect the presentation of news. However, until very recently there had been no experimental attempt to measure such influences. Some of the problems of a program of research in this field have recently been indicated by J. L. Woodward.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, con-

<sup>1</sup> B. L. Pierce, *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*, and the chapter on textbooks and the appendix of C. J. H. Hayes, *France, A Nation of Patriots*. Taft, D. R., "History Textbooks and International Differences," *Publications of American Sociological Society*, 19: 180-183.

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Woodward, "Quantitative Newspaper

tent studies of the newspaper have been numerous. In 1900, D. F. Willcox measured by the column-inch method and classified the contents of a single issue of each of 240 newspapers. Since then samples of urban and country newspapers have been measured in this way with an increasing refinement of classification and adequacy of sampling. Latterly, M. M. Willey and his students have been most active.<sup>3</sup> In the measurement of the amount of space devoted to special subjects in the papers, the students of the criminal have been most solicitous as to whether their charges were corrupted by the press. This has led to an assiduous measuring of space and counting of citations, from the study of Francis Fenton in 1911 to Virginia Cole in 1927 to Frank Harris in 1932.<sup>4</sup> There is no convincing evidence of the influence of the newspaper on crime. There have been other studies of a special content such as Simpson's study of Negro news in white newspapers, Woodward's measurement of the amount of foreign news in American newspapers, and Hornell Hart's scale for rating newspapers by their content.<sup>5</sup>

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Analysis as a Technique of Opinion Research,"  
Social Forces, 12: 526-537.

<sup>3</sup> M. M. Willey, *The Country Newspaper*, (1926); G. Walker, "A Yardstick for the Measurement of County Weekly Service," *Journalism Quarterly*, 7: 293-302, (a sample of about 5 per cent of the Nebraska County papers for 1929 were measured using Willey's classification; and especially, I. B. Taubner, "Changes in Content and Presentation of Reading Material in Minnesota Weekly Newspapers, 1860-1929," *Journalism Quarterly*, 9: 281-289. (Using Willey's classification, Taubner measured a sample of 30 papers for the decennial years 1860 to 1920 and 1929.)

<sup>4</sup> Francis Fenton, *The Influence of Newspaper Presentation Upon Crime* (1911).

Virginia L. Cole, *The Newspaper and Crime*, University of Missouri. Bulletin: 28, No. 4 (1927).

<sup>5</sup> G. Simpson, "Negro News in White Newspapers," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, 25: 157-159.

J. L. Woodward, *Foreign News in American Morning Papers*, 1930.

With the exception of a sample taken twenty-five years after the Willcox study for comparison to that early effort and of Taubner's Minnesota record, these content measurements have been neither comparative studies nor, because of differences in classifications, usually comparable. And yet this comparison over time intervals may well be their chief value. For the factors which they do not measure, such as position, relative effectiveness and quality of writing, signed columns, etc., may be assumed not to vary greatly, at least in relatively short time comparisons, or to cancel one another, while at the same time significant changes may be exposed by the series of comparisons by quantitative column-inch measurements.

(2) The content of the commercial motion pictures had not been studied in an organized fashion until the recent Payne Fund Studies<sup>6</sup> although a very extensive periodical discussion of that content has appeared since 1910. However, the articles dealt in controversial opinions both as to the content of the motion pictures and their effects on various age groups. Certain aspects of the content of a sizable sample of motion pictures have been classified and enumerated quite recently in Edgar Dale's report.<sup>7</sup> After attempting, without much success, to weight for frequency of attendance, he selected 115 pic-

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H. Hart, and S. M. Kingsbury, "Measuring the Ethics of American Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 10: 93-108, 10: 181-201. "Newspaper Bias on Congressional Controversies," *Journalism Quarterly*, 10: 323-342, and a series of articles in the *New Republic*.

<sup>6</sup> There had been studies of particular pictures used for educational purposes. Also, certain special interest groups had made general surveys. For example, the question of internationalism as treated by the motion pictures has been discussed in several brief surveys summarized in articles in that curiously titled periodical of a League sub-committee, the *International Journal of Educational Cinematography*.

<sup>7</sup> Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures*, 1935.

tures, 45 made in 1929, 46 in 1930, and 24 in 1931. These pictures were viewed and certain items of content were recorded on schedule sheets with sections dealing with locales of pictures, economic status of leading characters, occupations of leading characters, types of residences, number of crimes per picture, murder techniques, types of crime attempted, and other classifications. Of these 115 pictures, 40 were selected for more intensive analysis considering such items as age of leading characters; nationalities; types of clothing worn by characters; techniques, circumstances and frequency of lovemaking; marital status of characters; recreation; frequency of use of liquor and tobacco in pictures; apparent objectives in life of leading characters; and other items of behavior and attitude. In addition, Dale classified the titles of 500 pictures for each of the years 1920, 1925, and 1930. He also analyzed the content of two newsreels, one for a period of 59 weeks and the other for 44 weeks. Certain ethical aspects of the content of the feature pictures were classified in greater detail by C. C. Peters who wrote brief paragraph accounts of incidents of ethical significance in the pictures and submitted these to several small groups. The members of these groups judged whether or not this behavior of motion picture characters, as described in the written account submitted to them, was in agreement with the prevailing mores in their experience.<sup>8</sup>

The validity of thus abstracting single items and incidents from their context and also of transferring from one medium of communication (the movies), to another (the written account), is open to grave questioning as to method. The judge's response as to whether Miriam's amorous escapade with Robert is in accord with the

<sup>8</sup> C. C. Peters, *Motion Pictures and Standards of Morality*, 1934.

mores may be quite different when that behavior is described in a paragraph, and when it appears as a culminating experience after an hour's sympathetic response by the judge, not only to Miriam's enchanting loveliness and zest for life but also to her particular human problems. By that time he may well believe that most people could see that there are extenuating circumstances. He may even be engaged in wishful thinking.

(3) A few years ago F. M. Vreeland classified the content of the articles of the American Birth Control Review. Two judges classified and counted the articles as having a predominantly emotional appeal, propagandistic content, essentially scientific viewpoint, and the like. The purpose was to show the changing emphasis of the Birth Control Review in the various periods of development of the organized movement in the United States. This was, so far as I know, a pioneer study in periodical content.<sup>9</sup> Hornell Hart's recent extensive survey of the titles of articles cited in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature is the most elaborate study of the magazines. The titles dealing with the various items were counted in the yearly editions of the Reader's Guide from 1900, and the increase and decline of frequency of discussion was assumed to reflect in a general way the changing social attitudes and interests.<sup>10</sup>

(4) The popularization of the radio during the past fifteen years has been accompanied by a wealth of prophetic writing as to its potentialities, the future content of its programs, and its important political and social destiny. President

<sup>9</sup> F. M. Vreeland, *The Process of Reform with Especial Reference to Reform Groups in the Field of Population*, Thesis, University of Michigan, 1929.

<sup>10</sup> H. Hart, in *Recent Social Trends*, pp. 382-442, and, "Changing Opinions About Business Prosperity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38: 665-687.

Glenn Frank, among many others, proclaims that America has found its Acropolis. Organized gathering of information, however, has been largely dominated by the research divisions of commercial broadcasting companies interested in listener response. And much of their data has not been published. Most of the published material, and it is voluminous,<sup>11</sup> deals with listener's choices of programs, the various methods of eliciting information about these choices, and correlated buying habits or other responses.

Published studies of the content of programs are not numerous. And the content has been recorded in different ways. In 1927, G. A. Lundberg, using the published schedule of programs and time of all the stations of New York City for the month of February, classified the time spent on various programs as follows: Educational (9.3 per cent), Religious (5.3 per cent), Dance Music (26.2 per cent), Other Music (48.0 per cent), Children's Programs (1.1 per cent), Drama and Readings (2.6 per cent), Information (2.8 per cent), Sports (1.8 per cent), Miscellaneous (2.6 per cent).<sup>12</sup>

Another type of record is illustrated by C. Kirkpatrick's study of radio broadcasting in Minneapolis.<sup>13</sup> While the bulk of his report is devoted to the attitudes and habits of radio listeners, he has included a brief section on program content. Students sampled the programs of the Twin Cities for a week, classifying them according to a rather elaborate schedule. The sampling was obtained by listening in to the various programs and noting the amount of time devoted to different types on a schedule card. A check of listener

<sup>11</sup> Examine the bibliography of 732 items appended to *Measurement in Radio*, F. H. Lumley, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> G. A. Lundberg, "Content of Radio Programs," *Social Forces*, 7: 58-60.

<sup>13</sup> C. Kirkpatrick, Report of a Research into the Attitudes and Habits of Radio Listeners. 63 pp.

agreement shows an average of 80.2 per cent agreement by classifiers.

A more extensive but methodologically inadequate record of a sample of one day's programs of 206 commercial stations was made by the Ventura Free Press in California.<sup>14</sup> The sampling was done by tuning in at fifteen minute intervals. Apparently there was no comparison of the listeners' reliability of classification. H. S. Hettinger, using a rather arbitrary classification schedule presents the percentages of program content for key stations of the National Networks during the second week of November 1931 and 1932, and the last week of January 1934. The sample is small.<sup>15</sup> H. Cantril and G. W. Allport, in their recent volume on the radio, report on a classification of program content for one month of a single station (WBZ, Boston, for October, 1933). They used a schedule of 32 items. The reliability of the classifiers is not reported.<sup>16</sup> The data for the analysis were obtained from the records of the broadcasting station.

These are the principal types of study of content. Diverse in methods, sources, and schedule forms, they provide us with little that is comparable, adequate or inadequate though the individual studies may be, and with the exception of the sample from the two years (1931 and 1932) taken by Hettinger, there is nothing on trends of content.

## II

In an attempt to find the principal trends in program content we studied the pro-

<sup>14</sup> *American Broadcasting: An Analytical Study of One Day's Output of 206 Commercial Radio Stations*, Ventura Free Press, 15 pp., 1933.

<sup>15</sup> H. S. Hettinger, "Broadcasting in the U. S.," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 177: 1-14, Table p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> H. Cantril and G. W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio*, p. 76.

grams of nine American and one English broadcasting station from 1925 to 1935. The sources were the newspaper daily listings of programs, the classifications were according to the dominant characteristic of the program, the unit of record was the time devoted to a given program and the results were worked out in percentages of total time. Before turning to these results I shall indicate briefly the chief problems encountered and the methods which were used.

(1) There are three sources from which radio programs may be studied: some printed record such as the daily newspaper listings or periodicals like the Chicago Radio Guide, the log books of the stations, and by "listening in" to programs. For a detailed analysis "listening in" would be best, but this limits to present or present and future programs. The records of the radio stations are not available, or at any rate, not unless one examines them at the station. The periodicals dealing with radio programs are of recent vintage, dealing only with the past few years and, moreover, do not cover the entire field. We therefore used daily newspapers from the cities in which the stations were located. For a few periods listings were not complete in one newspaper, but we completed these by using other papers. One source of error in such a record is the variable accuracy of listings for various years. No doubt in the early years there was more changing of programs after they were printed in the papers than there has been of late years. With a considerable body of data, however, I do not regard this as a serious inaccuracy.

(2) The unit of measurement was the number of minutes devoted to a type of program. We are measuring here, not merely counting, for we take the number of minutes and place these against an arbitrary scale of the total time. The

adequacy of such measurement, however, is entirely relevant to our frame of reference. Within these time intervals there may be infinite variation in content. The effect of five minutes of one kind of dance music is not that of five minutes of another. But we are here comparing the relative amount of time devoted to types of programs in a time series. This whole problem of units of measurement needs clarification in contemporary sociological literature.

(3) The categories for program classification were not arbitrarily devised. The twenty-six types which may be noted in Table I were gradually developed from the program listings. Beginning with a few general types which were later modified, examining a sample from the various years of the period recorded, so that the types would be inclusive of almost all the programs during the entire period, this final list was developed. Most of the rather small residue of miscellaneous items could have been classified but the resultant list would have been unwieldy. The types are for the most part self-explanatory. The foreign programs are those originating abroad. The continued plays were separated from the plays presented in a single program because these continued plays have latterly won a distinct following. In this type were included all the continued plays except those for children as these were already included in the children's classification. The star programs were those developed about some speaker, actor, or commentator whose name was given for some regular program. This was exclusive of the persons featured in music, or as exclusively news or political commentators.

(4) The programs were usually listed in the newspapers by time categories, that is, all the stations broadcasting from 9 to 9:10 would be listed together with the

names of their programs. This necessitated the selection from the larger mass of material of the programs of the stations we were classifying. The number of minutes devoted to the various programs of our stations was then recorded on a large data sheet. One such sheet was used for each week of the programs of the selected stations. There was classification of programs by program type, by station, and by sections of the day, that is, from 6 A.M. to noon, noon to 6 P.M., 6 P.M. to the closing of the station. Figures indicating the number of minutes of a type of program were inscribed in the appropriate classification column. These small figures showing number of minutes of a single program were then totaled and worked out in percentages of the total for each program type, for each of the three periods of the day, for each station, for a weekly total.

(5) Sampling tests indicated four weeks out of each year for each station as adequate. So the programs for February 1-15 and July 18-31 were classified. These periods were selected to minimize the intrusion of holidays, or the unusual, also for winter and summer programs. The stations classified were WEAF, WOR, and WJZ of New York from 1925 through 1934, WABC of New York from 1927 through 1934, WGN of Chicago from 1925 through 1934, WMAQ, KYW, WBBM of Chicago from 1929 through 1934, WDAF of Kansas City from 1925 through 1934, and the London National of the British Broadcasting Corporation, from 1925 through 1934. Here is a sample of powerful stations in large cities. A parallel study of low power stations in small towns and cities would be desirable. These would no doubt be found to have differed from one another, especially in the early period, more than do the large stations.

(6) The relatively small samples of pro-

gram content analysis which have so far been published have been remiss in failing to indicate either the consistency of individual classification, if one person did the judging, or the comparative uniformity of classification if more than one was involved. C. Kirkpatrick, in the study already referred to is an exception. In the early stages of our study the four classifiers conferred together to some extent on the meaning of certain program titles, examined the columns of the radio pages for comments on or references to these programs so as to determine what their classification should be. After that they worked independently. Well through the classification, each classified the same sample week. Their results were compared for each category in our list of types of programs. The coefficient of correlation was  $.93 \pm .0178$ .

Our results provided a score or more of tables on which the classifications of program types for each station by yearly totals appeared. Further, there are tables in which the averages of the American stations are shown. Then, there are tables showing the classification by stations of the various program types. And, finally, those on which the range of percentages among the American stations for program types by years are noted. Of this bulk of material only a limited selection of general tables may be exhibited within the limits of an article. Table I gives the percentages of time devoted to various types of programs. It is based on the averages of nine American stations. Table II provides comparable results for the London National of the B. B. C. Table III shows the range of program type percentages for the year 1934, thus indicating the variation among these large American stations in the content of their programs. Extensive comment on the results is likewise impossible. Perhaps

TABLE I  
PERCENTAGES OF TIME DEVOTED TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PROGRAMS, AVERAGES OF NINE AMERICAN RADIO STATIONS, 1925-1935

| MUSIC                        | 1925  |       | 1926   |       | 1927  |       | 1928  |       | 1929   |       | 1930  |       | 1931  |       | 1933  |       | 1934  |       |       |       |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                              | Feb.  | July  | Feb.   | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.   | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  |       |       |
| Dance Ensemble               | 22.85 | 19.50 | 20.27  | 28.53 | 19.70 | 26.37 | 23.29 | 24.95 | 23.15  | 28.42 | 23.90 | 25.47 | 26.89 | 29.37 | 23.45 | 25.17 | 19.81 | 25.89 | 23.40 | 24.74 |
| String Ensemble              | 10.05 | 8.71  | 8.35   | 12.28 | 14.50 | 11.56 | 8.76  | 9.29  | 3.02   | 5.11  | 6.41  | 6.59  | 6.12  | 2.67  | 3.26  | 4.17  | 5.43  | 3.98  | 4.27  |       |
| Concert Orchestra            | 4.33  | 16.64 | 9.62   | 12.89 | 12.01 | 7.39  | 9.80  | 7.85  | 8.01   | 7.77  | 13.54 | 7.70  | 10.45 | 6.37  | 8.35  | 9.33  | 5.40  | 10.07 | 5.02  | 8.22  |
| Soloist                      | 14.10 | 9.83  | 10.49  | 5.39  | 4.79  | 4.60  | 10.96 | 10.10 | 8.11   | 6.44  | 5.19  | 7.04  | 6.50  | 3.27  | 3.62  | 3.04  | 4.52  | 3.06  | 4.42  | 4.90  |
| Combination                  | 8.06  | 8.84  | 10.11  | 7.79  | 9.14  | 7.80  | 6.62  | 7.63  | 5.55   | 6.02  | 6.53  | 6.27  | 7.00  | 11.23 | 13.06 | 12.80 | 16.62 | 13.71 | 16.72 | 14.37 |
| Vocal                        | 0.99  | 0.24  | 0.22   | 0.50  | 0.42  | 1.57  | 0.41  | 0.28  | 0.27   | 0.29  | 0.39  | 0.36  | 0.47  | 0.24  | 0.63  | 0.39  | 0.45  | 0.80  | 0.58  | 0.61  |
| Sacred                       | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.01   | 0.00  | 0.33  | 0.36  | 2.51  | 1.31  | 3.52   | 3.19  | 4.21  | 5.35  | 5.75  | 3.42  | 3.24  | 3.21  | 4.31  | 2.48  | 3.47  | 3.49  |
| Victrola                     | 3.36  | 2.16  | 2.97   | 2.67  | 4.30  | 7.00  | 8.10  | 8.13  | 10.04  | 6.51  | 2.71  | 4.34  | 2.04  | 6.06  | 3.99  | 3.35  | 6.16  | 2.43  | 5.39  | 5.64  |
| Total                        | 71.34 | 70.79 | 68.28  | 76.37 | 72.22 | 70.82 | 72.84 | 74.10 | 67.48  | 67.38 | 68.22 | 66.89 | 69.37 | 67.42 | 64.13 | 69.26 | 66.49 | 68.61 | 66.45 | 70.13 |
| Women's Feature              | 2.35  | 2.42  | 2.98   | 2.83  | 2.81  | 3.48  | 4.08  | 3.63  | 8.12   | 4.86  | 5.14  | 3.62  | 3.60  | 4.22  | 4.89  | 3.99  | 3.48  | 3.39  | 3.05  | 2.45  |
| Educational                  | 0.69  | 3.09  | 3.15   | 1.89  | 1.99  | 1.99  | 2.40  | 4.54  | 1.29   | 1.68  | 3.17  | 3.54  | 2.70  | 3.59  | 3.91  | 2.72  | 1.93  | 3.61  | 5.45  | 3.19  |
| Sports                       | 4.93  | 1.26  | 4.39   | 1.99  | 3.88  | 1.42  | 2.38  | 2.03  | 4.94   | 3.89  | 5.19  | 3.11  | 6.04  | 3.04  | 7.21  | 4.79  | 4.65  | 3.56  | 4.01  | 2.83  |
| News                         | 0.23  | 3.82  | 0.85   | 2.91  | 0.15  | 5.32  | 0.89  | 4.12  | 0.79   | 4.80  | 0.41  | 4.52  | 0.71  | 6.04  | 1.71  | 4.79  | 0.47  | 3.99  | 0.56  | 4.72  |
| Weather                      | 0.68  | 0.70  | 3.10   | 1.90  | 1.90  | 2.19  | 1.93  | 1.24  | 1.34   | 1.56  | 1.33  | 1.98  | 1.93  | 1.11  | 1.20  | 0.48  | 1.25  | 0.81  | 1.97  | 1.54  |
| Church Services              | 0.34  | 0.75  | 0.57   | 0.52  | 0.25  | 0.99  | 0.63  | 0.37  | 0.49   | 0.47  | 0.40  | 0.29  | 0.24  | 0.39  | 0.16  | 0.14  | 0.20  | 0.10  | 0.19  |       |
| Market Reports               | 3.14  | 1.72  | 2.11   | 1.43  | 2.80  | 2.39  | 2.60  | 1.92  | 3.31   | 1.80  | 3.72  | 1.39  | 2.05  | 3.72  | 1.23  | 1.95  | 2.38  | 1.85  | 2.22  | 1.29  |
| Political                    | 1.80  | 2.75  | 1.71   | 1.49  | 1.34  | 1.28  | 1.29  | 1.76  | 1.41   | 1.16  | 1.28  | 2.01  | 0.65  | 0.39  | 0.52  | 0.61  | 0.33  | 0.35  | 0.26  |       |
| Health Exercises             | 1.81  | 6.59  | 1.33   | 0.64  | 0.22  | 0.02  | 0.33  | 0.45  | 0.59   | 0.44  | 0.95  | 1.21  | 0.11  | 1.38  | 1.03  | 0.99  | 1.05  | 0.72  | 0.21  |       |
| Miscellaneous                | 4.92  | 0.49  | 1.14   | 0.12  | 3.01  | 0.82  | 0.29  | 1.13  | 2.45   | 1.59  | 1.79  | 1.06  | 1.21  | 1.63  | 0.61  | 0.00  | 0.12  | 0.41  | 0.11  |       |
| Total                        | 24.50 | 24.28 | 25.45  | 19.13 | 21.31 | 23.04 | 20.74 | 20.32 | 26.71  | 24.45 | 22.34 | 22.38 | 21.97 | 22.25 | 24.27 | 20.22 | 18.56 | 18.98 | 19.14 | 17.47 |
| Foreign Children's           | 0.00  | 0.47  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.26  | 0.16  | 0.00  | 0.10  | 0.00   | 0.44  | 0.23  | 0.99  | 0.69  | 0.46  | 0.41  | 0.16  | 0.20  | 0.25  | 1.17  |       |
| Continued Plays and Readings | 3.72  | 2.45  | 4.21   | 3.34  | 3.76  | 2.35  | 1.89  | 1.64  | 2.45   | 2.30  | 2.82  | 2.54  | 1.86  | 2.44  | 3.52  | 2.32  | 3.85  | 3.74  | 2.34  |       |
| Plays Sketches               | 0.04  | 0.79  | 0.10   | 0.69  | 0.27  | 1.11  | 2.79  | 1.13  | 1.11   | 1.48  | 1.64  | 1.42  | 1.11  | 1.31  | 1.19  | 0.59  | 1.76  | 2.00  | 1.70  | 1.81  |
| Star                         | 0.09  | 0.00  | 0.71   | 0.05  | 0.48  | 0.76  | 0.63  | 1.23  | 0.12   | 0.26  | 0.79  | 0.12  | 1.69  | 1.33  | 1.91  | 1.71  | 2.66  | 1.04  | 1.50  |       |
| Total                        | 0.13  | 2.32  | 1.51   | 0.90  | 2.33  | 2.89  | 4.23  | 2.92  | 2.91   | 3.98  | 5.20  | 4.84  | 5.45  | 6.48  | 7.21  | 7.27  | 10.33 | 7.89  | 9.94  | 8.85  |
| Miscellaneous                | 0.19  | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.15  | 0.19  | 0.47  | 0.05  | 0.86  | 0.63   | 1.64  | 0.87  | 3.06  | 0.09  | 0.55  | 0.21  | 0.43  | 0.69  | 0.44  | 0.36  | 0.00  |
| Total                        | 99.78 | 99.84 | 100.12 | 99.89 | 99.81 | 99.83 | 99.91 | 99.84 | 100.28 | 99.75 | 99.89 | 99.94 | 99.73 | 99.99 | 99.85 | 99.97 | 99.88 | 99.96 | 99.95 |       |

CONTENT OF RADIO PROGRAMS, 1925-1935

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGES OF TIME DEVOTED TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PROGRAMS, LONDON NATIONAL OF THE B. B. C., 1925-1935

| MUSIC                             | 1925  |        | 1926  |       | 1927  |       | 1928   |       | 1929  |       | 1930  |       | 1931  |       | 1932   |       | 1933  |       | 1934  |       |
|-----------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                   | Feb.  | July   | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.   | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.   | July  | Feb.  | July  | Feb.  | July  |
| Dance.....                        | 11.69 | 20.47  | 30.53 | 26.57 | 19.30 | 13.19 | 18.63  | 19.67 | 14.86 | 22.72 | 15.30 | 18.87 | 16.44 | 23.81 | 10.32  | 20.76 | 22.40 | 20.18 | 17.58 | 20.89 |
| String Ensemble.....              | 4.50  | 6.58   | 1.95  | 3.37  | 2.11  | 6.26  | 7.16   | 5.16  | 1.90  | 1.11  | 0.77  | 1.86  | 2.35  | 0.00  | 2.12   | 0.88  | 1.28  | 1.13  | 2.70  | 0.77  |
| Concert Orchestra.....            | 17.68 | 8.62   | 9.39  | 16.26 | 10.31 | 9.21  | 9.18   | 4.48  | 5.63  | 5.84  | 17.44 | 10.94 | 11.94 | 10.18 | 16.72  | 15.50 | 9.73  | 23.44 | 17.13 | 25.39 |
| Soloist.....                      | 2.77  | 1.37   | 6.63  | 6.90  | 1.53  | 1.67  | 9.65   | 6.06  | 6.37  | 4.51  | 11.54 | 10.64 | 7.11  | 7.26  | 12.14  | 12.25 | 13.28 | 8.32  | 8.60  | 10.12 |
| Combination.....                  | 10.77 | 13.19  | 2.38  | 13.38 | 18.26 | 5.57  | 2.56   | 2.55  | 9.82  | 5.56  | 4.68  | 5.04  | 9.54  | 2.06  | 6.74   | 5.66  | 8.96  | 3.78  | 2.29  |       |
| Vocal.....                        | 8.13  | 6.84   | 7.38  | 7.13  | 5.91  | 9.00  | 8.27   | 8.92  | 3.25  | 4.61  | 11.07 | 5.35  | 5.39  | 3.97  | 3.79   | 1.11  | 1.66  | 1.98  | 7.07  |       |
| Sacred.....                       | 1.08  | 0.88   | 2.91  | 0.40  | 5.05  | 3.08  | 0.99   | 5.24  | 1.67  | 1.67  | 1.68  | 1.74  | 5.45  | 4.71  | 1.11   | 1.00  | 0.00  | 0.69  | 0.45  | 1.15  |
| Victrola.....                     | 1.96  | 7.93   | 3.37  | 4.46  | 2.23  | 2.01  | 3.87   | 9.27  | 8.00  | 9.19  | 7.05  | 4.91  | 2.41  | 4.46  | 2.09   | 4.67  | 3.07  | 8.95  | 2.85  | 2.72  |
| Miscellaneous.....                | 0.00  | 0.44   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 1.54  | 1.23  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 3.88  | 1.70  | 0.59  | 0.34  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 2.00   | 0.00  | 2.92  | 0.98  | 0.84  | 0.14  |
| Total.....                        | 58.32 | 65.42  | 65.31 | 68.47 | 57.75 | 63.91 | 63.22  | 69.06 | 57.66 | 60.51 | 61.54 | 61.05 | 56.09 | 65.35 | 52.53  | 66.59 | 59.45 | 74.31 | 55.71 | 70.54 |
| Women's Feature.....              | 0.76  | 0.95   | 0.18  | 0.00  | 0.45  | 0.55  | 0.31   | 0.37  | 2.07  | 3.17  | 1.54  | 1.38  | 0.82  | 0.87  | 0.86   | 0.79  | 0.41  | 1.03  | 0.42  | 0.71  |
| Educational.....                  | 10.93 | 7.67   | 5.50  | 7.21  | 7.51  | 8.00  | 6.50   | 6.20  | 7.53  | 5.59  | 5.98  | 5.94  | 5.78  | 6.07  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 10.43 | 3.01  | 0.00  | 0.00  |
| Sports.....                       | 9.69  | 3.87   | 7.11  | 1.39  | 9.48  | 3.97  | 8.60   | 3.00  | 11.74 | 9.84  | 6.44  | 1.02  | 10.99 | 1.97  | 12.83  | 1.20  | 12.30 | 0.69  | 7.14  | 0.60  |
| Weather.....                      | 0.91  | 0.44   | 0.39  | 0.44  | 3.71  | 4.87  | 2.26   | 0.63  | 2.45  | 0.75  | 2.00  | 1.84  | 2.64  | 1.19  | 1.30   | 0.15  | 2.56  | 1.33  | 3.29  | 3.90  |
| Church Services.....              | 1.73  | 1.35   | 1.33  | 3.32  | 2.23  | 1.34  | 2.46   | 2.74  | 2.32  | 2.78  | 3.65  | 2.40  | 3.72  | 3.18  | 4.02   | 3.30  | 2.60  | 3.51  | 4.45  |       |
| Market Reports.....               | 0.76  | 0.98   | 1.24  | 1.97  | 1.65  | 2.67  | 3.98   | 3.86  | 4.65  | 3.33  | 3.12  | 5.23  | 4.46  | 3.31  | 6.48   | 4.34  | 4.45  | 4.60  | 3.83  | 4.21  |
| Political.....                    | 0.00  | 0.29   | 0.40  | 0.81  | 0.32  | 0.12  | 0.37   | 0.45  | 3.09  | 0.79  | 0.70  | 1.27  | 3.15  | 4.48  | 5.54   | 4.31  | 3.65  | 3.45  | 0.40  | 0.00  |
| Health Exercises.....             | 0.25  | 0.44   | 0.51  | 0.29  | 2.61  | 0.00  | 0.31   | 0.45  | 0.51  | 0.19  | 0.00  | 0.46  | 1.18  | 0.00  | 0.70   | 0.61  | 0.13  | 0.22  | 0.65  | 0.00  |
| Miscellaneous.....                | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  |       |
| Total.....                        | 29.54 | 20.75  | 21.76 | 17.68 | 30.51 | 23.64 | 27.31  | 21.71 | 31.07 | 28.07 | 28.30 | 24.90 | 33.37 | 23.73 | 39.11  | 23.72 | 31.34 | 17.12 | 34.49 | 20.13 |
| Foreign Children's.....           | 0.33  | 0.00   | 0.36  | 0.00  | 0.77  | 0.73  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.54  | 0.00  | 0.34  | 2.93  | 0.19  | 0.73   | 0.20  | 0.46  | 0.00  | 1.85  |       |
| Plays.....                        | 9.38  | 8.45   | 7.07  | 8.12  | 5.45  | 6.66  | 6.27   | 6.32  | 5.59  | 5.88  | 6.25  | 5.89  | 7.00  | 5.40  | 5.90   | 5.57  | 5.71  | 5.64  | 5.19  | 5.42  |
| Continued Plays and Readings..... | 0.00  | 4.33   | 2.21  | 1.37  | 2.11  | 1.18  | 2.35   | 2.31  | 4.01  | 4.31  | 1.81  | 3.48  | 1.35  | 2.15  | 1.47   | 1.84  | 2.64  | 1.91  | 3.60  | 1.39  |
| Sketches.....                     | 1.99  | 1.07   | 2.14  | 1.82  | 0.86  | 0.33  | 0.51   | 0.39  | 0.51  | 0.12  | 1.49  | 0.40  | 0.55  | 0.34  | 1.50   | 0.24  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  |
| Star.....                         | 0.42  | 0.44   | 0.59  | 0.89  | 0.00  | 1.10  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.69  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  |       |
| Total.....                        | 2.41  | 5.84   | 4.94  | 5.50  | 4.85  | 2.41  | 3.92   | 2.70  | 5.29  | 5.07  | 3.30  | 3.88  | 2.82  | 2.49  | 2.73   | 3.34  | 2.88  | 2.41  | 4.52  | 2.04  |
| Miscellaneous.....                | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.34  | 0.44  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00   | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  | 0.00  |       |
| Total.....                        | 99.98 | 100.46 | 99.44 | 99.77 | 99.33 | 99.35 | 100.72 | 99.79 | 99.95 | 99.94 | 99.93 | 99.72 | 99.83 | 99.90 | 100.46 | 99.95 | 99.88 | 99.94 | 99.91 | 99.98 |

the most convenient summarization may be provided by simply listing various trends, changes, and comparisons which appear to me from these tables. For con-

and twelve minutes per day. Hence a change of as much as three per cent means at least a half hour more of that type of program every day.

TABLE III. RANGE OF PROGRAM TYPE PERCENTAGES FOR 1934

|                                   | FEB.       |             | JULY       |             |  |  |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--|--|
|                                   | High       |             | Low        |             |  |  |
|                                   | High       | Low         | High       | Low         |  |  |
| Dance.....                        | WABC 34.02 | WMAQ 15.38  | WBBM 32.24 | WOR 19.04   |  |  |
| String Ensemble.....              | WGN 18.80  | WDAF 1.00   | WABC 7.58  | WMAQ 0.00   |  |  |
| Concert Orchestra.....            | WJZ 7.04   | WGN 2.50    | WJZ 11.85  | WDAF 3.76   |  |  |
| Soloist.....                      | WGN 7.71   | KYW 1.99    | WBBM 8.35  | WMAQ 0.51   |  |  |
| Combination.....                  | WDAF 8.18  | WGN 0.11    | WDAF 16.94 | KYW 0.42    |  |  |
| Vocal.....                        | WBBM 22.92 | WABC 8.79   | WABC 19.91 | WDAF 6.70   |  |  |
| Sacred.....                       | WDAF 0.95  | 2 sta. 0.00 | WMAQ 1.24  | 2 sta. 0.00 |  |  |
| Victrola.....                     | KYW 10.49  | 3 " 0.00    | KYW 11.79  | WGN 0.00    |  |  |
| Miscellaneous.....                | WMAQ 14.12 | WEAF 2.35   | WMAQ 10.99 | WGN 1.63    |  |  |
| Total.....                        | WGN 74.08  | WOR 56.09   | WABC 80.76 | WOR 62.77   |  |  |
| Women's.....                      | WOR 9.01   | WGN 0.00    | WOR 5.91   | WGN 0.00    |  |  |
| Feature.....                      | WOR 14.21  | KYW 0.49    | WGN 6.14   | WDAF 0.00   |  |  |
| Educational.....                  | KYW 7.40   | WEAF 0.51   | WJZ 6.10   | WGN 0.00    |  |  |
| Sports.....                       | WOR 1.88   | 4 sta. 0.00 | WGN 14.56  | WJZ 0.44    |  |  |
| News.....                         | KYW 3.43   | 2 " 0.00    | WABC 2.55  | WMAQ 0.00   |  |  |
| Weather.....                      | WDAF 0.71  | 5 " 0.00    | WDAF 0.90  | 6 sta. 0.00 |  |  |
| Church Services.....              | WGN 5.84   | KYW 0.00    | WGN 4.89   | WBBM 0.00   |  |  |
| Market Reports.....               | WOR 1.44   | 4 sta. 0.00 | WDAF 1.63  | 7 sta. 0.00 |  |  |
| Political.....                    | KYW 2.19   | WGN 0.00    | WJZ 0.66   | 2 " 0.00    |  |  |
| Health Exercises.....             | WGN 2.68   | 7 sta. 0.00 | WMAQ 1.03  | 8 " 0.00    |  |  |
| Miscellaneous.....                | KYW 5.54   | 4 " 0.00    | WDAF 2.95  | 3 " 0.00    |  |  |
| Total.....                        | WOR 31.48  | WGN 13.82   | WGN 25.73  | WABC 10.92  |  |  |
| Foreign.....                      | WMAQ 0.64  | 2 sta. 0.00 | KYW 2.86   | WGN 0.00    |  |  |
| Children's.....                   | WBBM 6.41  | WMAQ 1.41   | WOR 5.84   | WMAQ 0.00   |  |  |
| Plays.....                        | WJZ 3.48   | WGN 0.25    | WOR 3.44   | WGN 0.54    |  |  |
| Continued Plays and Readings..... | WABC 3.80  | WBBM 0.00   | WGN 4.33   | WDAF 0.30   |  |  |
| Sketches.....                     | WBBM 10.85 | KYW 2.52    | WDAF 7.30  | WABC 1.44   |  |  |
| Star.....                         | WMAQ 4.17  | 2 sta. 0.00 | WEAF 2.27  | 3 sta. 0.00 |  |  |
| Total.....                        | WJZ 13.58  | KYW 6.58    | WEAF 12.99 | KYW 4.05    |  |  |

venience in thinking of the meaning of percentage differences it may be noted that as most of the stations are on the air from 6 A.M. to at least 1 A.M., one per cent of broadcasting time is between eleven

Of the contents of Table I, I note: Music rather consistently maintained at about 70 per cent of the total. Dance music about the same proportion of the total from year to year, usually higher in the summer than in winter.

String Ensembles in the early years used about 10 per cent of the daily program, in the last three years a little over 4 per cent.

Concert orchestras have decreased slightly.

Soloists have about a third less broadcasting time than in the years 1925 to 1927.

Combination musical programs are less than half as much in evidence.

Vocal programs now have about twice as much time as in the early years.

Victrola playing does not appear significantly in the programs until 1927, had a larger part each year until 1931 (about an hour a day) and has now decreased to 3.49 per cent of the total day's programs.

Programs admittedly directed at women reach a high in 1929 when they average over 6 per cent for the year. They now occupy half that time.

The averages for educational programs have not increased since 1929, but it may be noted that in the winters of 1931 and 1932 they increased sharply to 6.04 and 7.21 per cent. At that period the broadcasting systems were very much subjected to public attack. These facts may not be unrelated.

The average time devoted to sports programs has increased slightly of late years. Broadcasting sports events accounts for six or seven times as much time in summer as in winter (baseball games).

News reports have about doubled their time over that used on them in 1925, but it will be noted that in 1926 these increased rapidly. There is considerable fluctuation here not unconnected with the stages of the radio's controversy with the newspapers.

Market reports are much less in evidence during the past few years; indeed they occupy but a sixth of the time given to them in the 1925 to 1928 period.

Broadcasts from abroad have increased since 1930.

Note the seasonal variation in children's programs.

Plays and continued readings now are about three per cent of the total time. They appear to have developed about 1928.

The star programs have rather consistently increased since 1930. There is greater emphasis on these great names in radio.

There are other changes which the reader may note by studying the tables. These observations are based on the averages for the American stations. If individual stations are considered the results are in some cases different. For the range, between high and low stations, in the time devoted to program types for a single year, 1934, see Table III.

The comparison of the American with

the London National programs may be made by studying Tables I and II. In the following comments "English" refers to the output of this one station and "American" to the averages of the nine stations. The total time used by musical programs in the London National is now but little less than the 70 per cent of the American stations. Ten years ago, however, it was considerably less. There is a much greater seasonal variation in the English programs. In July, 1934, music occupied 70.13 per cent of the time of American stations and 70.54 per cent in the London National, but in February the English had only 55.71 per cent music as compared to 66.45 per cent here. This is an average daily difference in the winter of about two hours. In the English programs these hours will be found distributed among the educational, feature, children's programs, and the weather. This English preoccupation with the elements, as well as a general national characteristic, is delightfully illustrated by the headlines of English newspapers some years ago during a tremendous storm in the Channel. Some headlines read: "Tremendous Storm at Sea, Continent of Europe Isolated."

There is a greater variation in the amount of dance music in the London National, both seasonal and from year to year. This may be due to changes in policy of the B.B.C., or the demands of listeners and the needs of their programs. It may be observed that we have been given a steady diet of dance music for ten years.

The string ensemble programs have never been even half as much in evidence in the London National as in American programs.

Concert orchestras, however, are featured and given much more time in the English programs. During the past two years, they were presented during the winter for 7 per cent of program time here, as compared to about 17 per cent in England. In the summer the relative time is 6 per cent and 2.1 per cent. This is a great difference of between two and three hours every day.

Soloists have been increasingly used by the London National. This is the reverse of the trend in America.

Of course we have soloists on the combination programs.

General vocal programs have a much more important part in the programs here. We listen to group singing, choruses, and quartets.

There is great fluctuation in the use of victrola records by the London National. There are no trends. During the past year they were used 0.7 of one per cent less than in America, but in July, 1933 they were played 6.47 per cent of the total programs more than here. That is about an hour a day.

Of the specifically women's programs there is not more than a third as much as in the United States.

Educational programs in the winter months have about twice as much time as they have here.

While the sports programs are comparable in total yearly averages, in the London National programs they are a year-round broadcast with usually somewhat more time devoted to them in winter than in summer, a marked difference from the American practice already noted.

The English programs devote from three to four times as much space to news. There is a quite different situation between newspaper and radio in England than in America.

For some reason there are sudden increases in the time given to discussing weather in the English programs. This is noticeable in 1930 and 1934 especially.

During the past five years the London National has devoted about twice as much time to church services as our commercial stations have.

The English station never has broadcast health exercises, while in the hey-day of this type of program here (1925 and 1926) they were apportioned about 4 per cent of the daily broadcast.

In the English programs there has been a rather consistent decrease in time devoted to children's programs. Since 1925 they have decreased from 8 or 9 per cent to about 5 per cent. Apparently, in each year there is about twice as much time given to children's programs as in the United States.

Sketches and plays have little part in the English program in contrast to our recent 5 per cent of total program time.

Star programs have hardly any part in London National broadcasting.

In the results of this study we have a general survey and comparison which purports to show certain larger trends and changes. It does not expose the important qualitative changes within the program types. Many of these also may be

examined in an organized fashion. But, impressionistic accounts may be very illuminating. A year or so ago, I read an interesting article by the novelist, Joseph Hergesheimer, on the differences between English and American programs. It was based, as I remember, on a day's "listening in" by the author while in a London hotel room. He jotted down notes on his impressions. In his article he made a number of astute observations. For definitive accounts, however, such observations should provide but suggestions as to problems to be examined in an organized way. Such studies of contemporary programs could be made by "listening in." Past programs could not be so satisfactorily dealt with, but a detailed analysis could be made from the accumulated scripts of past programs which are filed by some of the larger stations. It would be a laborious procedure.

This report, likewise, is the result of a laborious process. But I believe our results have justified the effort. The proliferating vogue of counting and measuring in American sociology necessitates constant checking against a careful formulation of worthwhile problems. In general, I agree with Professor Sorokin's recent plaint that, "In the future some thoughtful investigator will probably write a very illuminating study about the quantitative obsession of a great many social scientists, psychologists and educators of the first third of the twentieth century, tell how such a belief became a vogue, how social investigators tried to measure everything; how thousands of papers and research bulletins were filled with tables, figures and coefficients; and how thousands of persons never intended for scientific investigation found in measurement and computation a substitute for real thought and became 'researchers', etc. Such a situa-

tion corresponds exactly to Professor Ogburn's promulgation that science will utilize the dull and uninteresting persons; for science rests on a base of a great deal of long, careful, painstaking work. And many stupid persons can be careful, patient, methodical." But there are problems in which the corporals of research have their uses.

Finally, I would repeat that the most valuable use of studies of content, not only of radio programs, but also of other media of communication, is in noting trends and changes in content. Systems of classification may be inadequate and unstandardized. Nevertheless, if a system is used consistently over a time period, valuable facts may appear.

## STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN SECRET SOCIETIES

NOEL P. GIST

*University of Missouri*

SECRET societies constitute one of the important culture patterns both of primitive and of modern civilizations. Anthropological literature is replete with systematic descriptions and analyses of organized secrecy among primitive peoples, and historical evidence is not lacking to indicate the rôle of esoteric fraternalism in more complex cultures. The Ancient Mysteries of the early Mediterranean civilizations, the military orders of knighthood of the Middle Ages, the Friendly Societies and other craft guilds of England during the Industrial Revolution, the revolutionary societies of nineteenth century Europe, and the numerous benevolent and protective societies of the United States bear witness to the social significance of institutionalized secrecy in the western world. For reasons that are not altogether apparent, this country has been especially productive of secret societies. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only a few thousand members of the secret brotherhoods, but by 1927, according to an estimate by Merz, there were approximately eight hundred different societies of recognized standing

having a combined membership of thirty million persons.<sup>1</sup>

### CLASSIFICATION OF SECRET SOCIETIES

While this analysis is concerned primarily with the structural and processual patterns of secret orders, it seems appropriate by way of introduction to present a classification according to their dominant functional characteristics. Some societies are so conspicuously earmarked with certain functional traits that they can be catalogued without difficulty; the entire organization is built around some idea or function that figures prominently in the complex of traits. But for many the classification is hardly so simple. There may be a number of important functional characteristics, and to select the dominant function is not always an easy task. While it may be quite a simple matter to place in a given category a society that is avowedly and passionately devoted to the idea of patriotism, it may be quite another matter to determine if melioristic activities or religious inculcation are the para-

<sup>1</sup> Charles Merz, "Sweet Land of Secrecy," *Harper's Magazine*, CLIV (1927), p. 329.

mount traits of a different order. Thus the French and Polish Catholic societies may represent a combination of nationalistic, economic, and religious activities, while the Knights of Pythias may at the same time be benevolent, recreational, and patriotic in character. Yet in most instances a careful study of the society reveals certain features which provide a fairly adequate basis for a functional classification. While frankly recognizing these difficulties, a tentative classificatory scheme is offered: benevolent, beneficial, and philanthropic societies; revolutionary and reformist societies; patriotic societies; professional and occupational societies; mystical and occult societies; religious orders; military societies and orders of knighthood; collegiate "social" and recreational societies; honor societies; abstinence societies; convivial societies; criminal societies.

Whatever may be the defects of such a classificatory arrangement, it may readily be seen that a wide variety of functions do exist. Naturally one may expect also that these rather widely differentiated functions, overlapping as they do in many instances, profoundly influence the structural framework of the organizations and affect the processes of change that take place within them. It is almost axiomatic in sociological theory to say that function influences structure and that in turn structure places certain limitations on functional activities. In secret societies there exists structural differentiation just as there exists a differentiation of functions. Indeed, fraternal orders, like many other forms of social organization, may be characterized quite as much by their structural differences as by their likenesses. This divergent patterning of esoteric societies has taken numerous forms; yet these organizations, like the family or church, have shown a propensity to retain certain

skeletal outlines of structure that show marked resemblances to each other.

#### THE FRATERNAL CONSTELLATION

One of the significant structural patterns of fraternalism is the secret society constellation. As an accompaniment of the process of differentiation has come a tendency for esoteric fraternities to form clusters having as their characteristic configuration a dominant nuclear society and related subordinate groupings. These fraternal constellations are composed of organizations whose inter-relationships are sufficiently distinctive to set them off from other orders. The secret societies forming a fraternal constellation, while differentiated in numerous ways, are usually related to each other by marital ties or bonds of blood kinship between the various members. The most familiar manifestation of this phenomenon is the superior-subordinate relationship pattern between an original nuclear group composed of males and ancillary groupings composed of women or children who are related to the men by marriage or blood. But variations of this pattern occur: some auxiliary organizations admit persons who are unrelated to the members of the dominant societies as well as those who are related; some admit only males who have attained a certain rank in the nuclear societies, or women whose husbands, fathers, or brothers have attained such rank; others are open to members of the central orders who otherwise qualify by their occupational affiliations, their social acceptability, or their interests in certain recreational, melioristic, or military activities.

As a mechanism for increasing the solidarity, stability, and permanence of secret societies the fraternal constellation has undoubtedly been effective. Wives, mothers, and sisters of male fraternalists have identified themselves with societies

under the aegis of a particular order and have therefore become interested not only in the organizations to which they themselves belong but also in the men's complementary organization to which they owe a sort of allegiance. Supervised juvenile societies, organized by members of adult fraternities, become "feeders" for the orders to which their elders belong, thereby providing a more or less steady inflow of new recruits who are carefully selected and conditioned for membership in the higher realms. Furthermore, the close relationship between the various societies within a fraternal constellation results in an interpenetration of culture traits and consequently close parallels in ritualism, symbols, ideology, and aspects of formal structural organization. The pattern of the central order is unmistakably stamped upon the auxiliary societies that come within its sphere of influence and therefore upon the whole complex. Thus there exist fraternal constellations for the Masonic order, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and numerous other societies of a similar character. Something fairly comparable to this arrangement is found in college Greek-letter societies, which have alumni organizations, parents' clubs, boards of trustees, and other appendant groups centering around a given organization.

It would appear that the larger the fraternity and the more numerous are its members, the greater is the tendency for satellite societies to develop. A large membership means, ordinarily, a heterogeneous membership: different races, occupations, and religions may be represented, sectionalism may spring up, and members may otherwise be differentiated in attitudes, interests, and points of view. Such a divergent membership is therefore likely to find expression in fraternal groupings or

sub-groupings which carry with them many of the traits and much of the philosophy of the central group with which they are affiliated.

Perhaps the most impressive fraternal constellation in this country revolves around the Masonic order. At least thirty different organizations, both secret and non-secret, are affiliated with the Masonic lodge. But almost all societies of any note exhibit this structural pattern. The following examples represent the extent to which this process has worked itself out in two contemporary fraternities:

#### THE MASONIC CONSTELLATION

*Orders of Knighthood:* Knights Templar; Knights of the Red Cross of Constantine; Royal Order of Scotland.

*Convivial Societies:* Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; Royal Order of Jesters (a Shrine sub-auxiliary); Mystic Order of the Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm; Tall Cedars of Lebanon; Egyptian Order of Scioi; Order of Rameses.

*Women's Auxiliary Societies:* Daughters of the Nile; Mysterious Witches of Salem; Order of the Eastern Star; White Shrine of Jerusalem; Heroines of Jericho; Order of the Amaranth; True Kindred; Order of Beaugeant.

*Collegiate Societies:* Acacia; Square and Compass; Scimitar; Gamma Alpha Phi; Phi Omega Phi (women).

*Juvenile Societies:* Order of De Molay; Order of Builders; Order of Chivalry; Order of the Rainbow; Job's Daughters.

*Non-secret Masonic Clubs:* National Sojourners' Club; High Twelve Club.

*Honorary:* Order of High Priesthood.

#### THE MOOSE CONSTELLATION

Loyal Order of Moose (central organization for men); Mooseheart Legion of the World (men's auxiliary); Women of the Mooseheart Legion (women's auxiliary); Home Chapter (women's auxiliary); Moose Veterans' Association (men's honorary auxiliary); Mooseheart Alumni Association; Junior Order of Moose (young men's auxiliary); Junior Legion (children's auxiliary).

Where racial or cultural cleavages are so pronounced as to mean the exclusion of certain groups from fraternal membership, individuals who are objects of discrimina-

tion sometimes organize fraternities of their own which are patterned closely after the societies denying them admittance. These societies may also be considered a segment of the fraternal constellation, although there is seldom if ever any official connection between them and the "authentic" orders. In this country Negroes are rarely admitted to white secret societies, but in order to overcome this difficulty colored fraternalists have developed their own organizations, which, in many instances, are veritable facsimiles of the white associations. Among the Negroes there are orders of Shriners, Elks, Foresters, Pythians, Masons, and Woodmen; and although these societies are legitimate in the sense that they are patterned in structure and function after the white fraternities, they are usually labelled as "clandestine," "spurious," or "imitative." Disputes over the use of names, symbols, or fraternal paraphernalia have in some instances led to litigation between Negro and white fraternities. In order to avoid illegal infringement on white territory, the Negroes have made certain alterations in the names or other features of their organizations. The Negro Pythians, for example, have named their order the Knights of Pythias of North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa; the name of the Elk fraternity has been changed to the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; and the Odd Fellow lodge is now the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.

#### SCHISMATIC DIFFERENTIATION

Another extra-legal feature of the fraternal constellation is the schismatic society. Not infrequently have fraternal orders been torn by internal dissensions which have culminated in the complete secession of disgruntled and rebellious factions. These schismatic or secessionist

orders bear much the same relation to the parent organization as religious sects do to the older bodies from which they have separated. In general the secessionists have tended to take over most of the characteristic features of the original order, frequently preserving the name with slight modifications. So far as the functions and the structural patterns are concerned the societies remain much the same.

This process of schismatic differentiation has been characteristic of the development of a number of important contemporary societies. Both Freemasonry and Odd Fellowship, according to one fraternal historian,<sup>2</sup> had turbulent careers during the early days in England. Stevens traces no less than twenty-seven Odd Fellow organizations which represented factional cleavages at one time or another.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, he observes that the separation of English Odd Fellowship went even farther than the formation of independent Odd Fellow societies, "in many instances giving birth to like organizations but with entirely different names, among them Foresters, Druids, Shepherds, and Free Gardeners." Today Odd Fellowship in this country is fairly well unified, but in England there are a number of independent branches existing alongside each other.

The growth of a number of Forestry societies is still further illustrative of the process of schismatic differentiation and the formation of legal and extra-legal fraternal constellations. The parent order of the Forestry organizations was the Royal Order of Foresters, founded in England in 1790. From this original society sprang the Ancient Order of Foresters, which in turn has produced, directly or indirectly, a number of schismatic organizations. Among the Forestry societies in

<sup>2</sup> Albert C. Stevens, *Cyclopedia of Fraternities* (New York, 1907), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

this country are the American branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Irish National Order of Foresters, the Foresters of America, the Bohemian American Foresters, and *les Forestiers Franco-Américains*. Both the Independent Order of Foresters and the Foresters of America are direct offshoots of the Ancient Order of Foresters. In addition may be mentioned the Canadian Order of Foresters and the United Order of Americans, formerly the United Order of Foresters. There are probably other schismatic Forestry organizations whose names conceal their relationship to the original orders. One other illustration of this schismatic development may be given. The Order of Chosen Friends, founded in 1879, gave birth to the Independent Order of Chosen Friends, the United Friends of Michigan, the Canadian Order of Chosen Friends, the Order of United Friends, and the United League of America, the latter organization formed by German Friends of Chicago.

The reasons for the growth of these separatist organizations are probably legion. *Les Forestiers Franco-Américains*, for example, came into existence when the French members of the Foresters of America protested unavailingly against an official decree providing for the exclusive use of the English language in all fraternal activities. Other splits no doubt have occurred when members differed over matters of ideology and official policy. While the seceding fraternalists have usually striven for a certain amount of individuality in the organizations which they have set up, the similarities are certainly more impressive than the differences.

#### PATTERNS OF STRATIFICATION

Another important structural pattern is the system of internal stratification which has developed among the more highly institutionalized societies. In ac-

cordance with this scheme, the individual, as an outsider, proceeds to the inner realms of the secret group by means of a succession of steps known in fraternal parlance as degrees. This graduated process of admission, as Simmel was wont to call it,<sup>4</sup> may be pictured graphically as a series of concentric circles, the outermost circle representing the first stage and the inner circle representing the final stage in fraternal membership. In the peripheral zone is the neophyte, the newcomer, the uninitiated, occupying a marginal position between the world of mystery which he is about to enter and the "profane" world from which he has come. It is a period of testing, of apprenticeship, and the novice, as yet untried and unproved, is given an opportunity to display the traits which the society deems desirable for complete membership. But between the outer and inner "circles" may be other zones—numerous in some instances—through which the member must pass before he is finally awarded the distinction that goes with the completion of full membership requirements or a long record of unstinted service. To attain that honor may require diligence, perseverance, and sustained interest in fraternal activities, especially if the degrees are numerous and the ritualistic requirements complicated, as they are in some orders.

While this process of graduated admission in different societies varies as to the amount of time and money involved, the principles of social selectivity tend to be much the same: the unworthy, the uninterested, the unpatriotic, or the unreliable fall by the wayside and are culled out in the winnowing process. Insofar as this process becomes selective in character, then, it is a protective feature for the

<sup>4</sup> Georg Simmel, "The Sociology of Secrecy," *American Journal of Sociology*, XI (1906), pp. 488-489.

fraternity and a guarantee of stability and permanence. But the sifting process works also to another end, namely, the tendency to produce a homogeneous membership within the order. It is a fairly common observation, and perhaps a fairly accurate one, that the members of esoteric fraternities tend to run to "types," and the stratifying scheme intensifies and accelerates this type-forming process.

The highly-touted democracy of secret brotherhoods is somewhat offset by the formation of social layers within the organization. At the bottom of the ladder are the novitiates, marginal members who are still "in darkness" and who must performe demonstrate their fraternal worthiness before they are admitted to a higher social level. Becoming to their low station are an attitude of meekness and a manifestation of respect and reverence for things fraternal. At the pinnacle of the pyramid is the honorary member who has passed the various grades and who by virtue of his loyalty and diligence has been awarded a special honorary degree as an expression of the esteem of his fellow-fraternalists. Between them are other positions representing different social levels and indicating varying social distances between the members.

This stratification is not without its value in the unification of the group and the development of *esprit de corps* among the members. The fraternity itself is a sort of miniature open-class social order whose vertical channels are open to those who possess the proper qualities and who by dint of perseverance have shown themselves capable of "rising from the ranks." The higher degrees, then, become an important goal whose attainment means added prestige for those who achieve it and a quickening of the competitive process for those who aspire to such heights.

They represent important devices for social control.

There is a rather wide variation in the number of stages or ranks that characterize this system of stratification. Perhaps the most highly stratified society in this country is the Masonic order, with thirty-two degrees and an additional honorary rank. At the other end of the scale, however, are a number of organizations with only one "degree." Even among collegiate societies this pattern of stratification is exhibited in a somewhat simplified way in the relationships between senior members, junior members, and pledges, the latter occupying a somewhat marginal position of quasi-membership. For societies of the lodge type, at least, the average number of degrees would probably be around three. The following representative societies are illustrative of the range of degrees:

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Knights of Malta.....                      | 14 |
| Independent Order of Odd Fellows.....      | 7  |
| National Grange.....                       | 7  |
| United Brothers of Friendship (Negro)..... | 6  |
| Loyal Orange Institution.....              | 5  |
| United American Mechanics.....             | 5  |
| Knights of the Mystic Chain.....           | 4  |
| Knights of the Golden Seal.....            | 4  |
| Order of Owls.....                         | 4  |
| Ancient Order of Druids.....               | 4  |
| Improved Order of Red Men.....             | 4  |
| Ladies of the Royal League.....            | 3  |
| Independent Order of Foresters.....        | 3  |
| Knights of Pythias.....                    | 3  |
| Ancient Order of United Workmen.....       | 3  |
| Modern Woodmen of America.....             | 2  |
| Patriotic Order of Americans.....          | 2  |
| Sons of Herman.....                        | 1  |
| Sons of Norway.....                        | 1  |

#### THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

Since most fraternities are national or at least regional in scope, it becomes necessary for them to have some plan of control and coordination of the various local bodies if any semblance of unity is to be maintained. In their governmental struc-

ture these orders show striking parallels, a hierarchical arrangement not unlike that of the Roman Catholic Church, or perhaps better still, the Russian Soviet, being the commonly accepted pattern. Local or subordinate lodges are organized under the direction and supervision of state lodges, which in turn are controlled by supreme lodges or councils. But even with this centralization of government the orders are inclined toward democratic rather than autocratic principles, at least in the matter of representation. State organizations are composed of representatives from the subordinate lodges, while the national council is ordinarily made up, at least in part, of representatives from state organizations and representatives selected on a proportional basis according to the membership in each state jurisdiction. Variations in the manner of representation, however, occur in different societies.

Usually supreme authority is vested in the national organization. In the Knights of Malta, for example, the "supreme grand commandery" possesses the "sole and supreme authority to rule, guide, and govern" the subordinate chapters. It is the final arbiter in all disputed matters, the "repository and guardian of the symbols and mysteries of the order," and the sole authority in matters of taxation, charters, and general welfare. The supreme council of the Knights of Columbus delegates to itself complete authority to "make, alter, and repeal all laws, rules, and regulations for the government, management, discipline, and control of the fraternity or any division of it, and to enforce the rules it has instituted." Similar functions of the national organization are to be found in other societies. In the Knights of Pythias the "supreme government" is divided into legislative, judicial, and executive departments, patterned after the triangular plan of the federal govern-

ment at Washington. Ordinarily the duties and responsibilities of the officers of the supreme or national councils are carefully defined by the constitutions of the orders. Membership in the national organization is usually honorary in nature, although the officials whose duties are numerous are on a salaried basis.

Subordinate to the national plenary councils are the "grand" organizations whose jurisdiction is limited to a definite state or territory. These state bodies are somewhat similar in function to the national bodies. Usually they are created only after a specified number of subordinate organizations have been formed. The Patriotic Order of Americans, for example, requires that twenty local "camps" must exist before a state organization can be formed. For the Foresters of America and the Knights of Pythias a minimum of ten "courts" is necessary, while for the Royal Arcanum a thousand members are required before a "grand council" is set up.

The state bodies have direct supervision over the subordinate chapters in their respective territories. Each state organization has its judicial, executive, and legislative functions, and its authoritative position is unchallenged unless its actions conflict with the national or supreme council. These functions customarily involve the power to amend the constitution or alter existing rule and regulations, to establish subordinate councils, to enact new laws for the government of local bodies, to have general supervisory power within a given territory, to order the trial of recalcitrant members, to assess penalties against convicted members, and to raise revenue and make expenditures.

At the bottom of the pyramid are the subordinate chapters which carry on most of the work of the fraternities. Ordinarily a membership of twenty or thirty

persons is required before a charter will be granted by the state organization, although in some instances as few as ten members are necessary. Each local organization has its own officers whose titles and duties correspond to those of other subordinate lodges. It conducts its own ritualistic activities, administers insurance funds or otherwise engages in welfare activities, and sponsors recreational programs for the members.

#### HISTORIC FACTORS IN THE PATTERNING PROCESS

The presence of these structural uniformities naturally leads to the inquiry concerning the developmental processes which have resulted in their formation. Granted that Goldenweiser's theory of limited possibilities has some application here,<sup>5</sup> there still remain certain historic events which strongly suggest the diffusion of specific traits if not of whole complexes. A systematic examination of esoteric ceremonialism reveals the extent to which this patterning process has been carried in fraternal rituals.<sup>6</sup>

The first secret societies in this country were imported from Europe along with other culture complexes. Freemasonry was introduced within a decade after the formation of the first grand lodge in England in 1717. Some time later the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order of Druids, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Independent Order of Rechabites (an abstinence society), the Loyal Orange Institution, and the Order of Illuminati were introduced from abroad. These early orders of European extraction undoubtedly served as models for the pat-

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Goldenweiser, "Principle of Limited Possibilities," *Journal of American Folklore*, XXVI (1913), p. 270-273.

<sup>6</sup> See especially my article, "Culture Patterning in Secret Society Ceremonials," *Social Forces*, XIV (1936), pp. 497-505.

terns of fraternalism in this country. To what extent the imported societies themselves were copied directly from Freemasonry there can be no way of knowing, but it is reasonable to suppose that Masonic influence was significant.

Be that as it may, the familiar phenomenon of "interlocking memberships" in American fraternal societies has undoubtedly intensified the patterning tendency in the same way that the process of schismatic differentiation, mentioned above, has facilitated it. The facts of history indicate that esoteric fraternities have, in many instances, been founded by individuals who were at the time members of one or more secret orders. While the founders may have striven for originality and distinctiveness, it is not surprising that they grafted upon the new organizations many of the practices and usages with which they were already familiar. The Modern Woodmen of America, for instance, was founded by a man who was also a prominent Mason, Odd Fellow, Pythian, and United Workman. This same founder was also active in the establishment of the Woodmen of the World. The original organizer of the Mystic Workers of the World was a member of the Masonic order, Modern Woodmen, Maccabees, and Woodmen of the World. The founder of the Knights of Pythias was also a Mason and a member of the Improved Order of Red Men.

Thus the system of American fraternalism makes multiple membership a possibility; in fact, fraternalists in this country frequently participate as members in a number of different orders. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that this arrangement not only tends to strengthen fraternalism in general but also to diffuse more widely the prevailing fraternity patterns.

Another historic factor which may have contributed to the patterning process is

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the opposition which esoteric societies have received. The wide publicity given to secret orders in the form of exposés and propaganda has left little to be learned of their ceremonials and organizational features. Anti-Masonic agitation growing out of the famous Morgan case in the nineteenth century may have retarded fraternal development for a time, but in the end it probably served to sharpen the curiosities and stimulate the interests of many who might otherwise have been indifferent to fraternity life. Such sectarian bodies as the National Christian Association and the Catholic and Lutheran churches are still committed to a policy of opposition to fraternalism, and have spared no little effort to expose the secrets of societies, which they regard as "unchristian."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *The Christian Cynosure*, a monthly journal published at Chicago by the National Christian Association, is devoted primarily to the cause of anti-fraternalism.

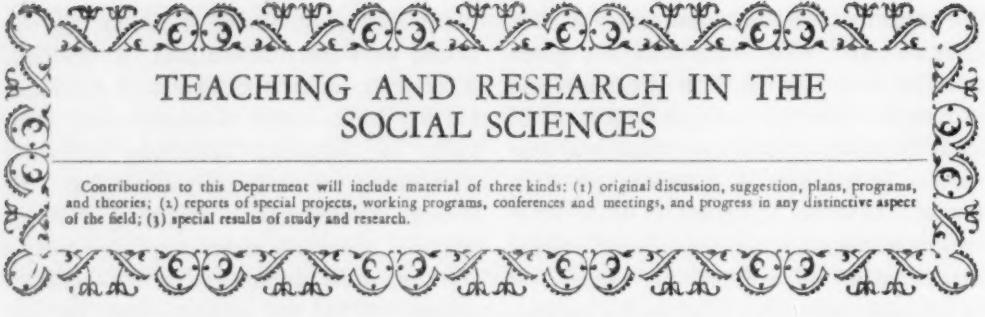
By way of summary, then, it may be stated that institutionalized secrecy constitutes an important feature of American civilization. Secret societies may logically be classified according to their paramount functional activities. Although differentiated structural patterns may be observed, there appears to be a basic skeletal configuration that characterizes most of the organizations, particularly those of the lodge type. One of these patterns is the fraternal constellation, which consists of a number of secret orders clustered around some nuclear society. Another pattern is the system of stratification or graduated membership which characterizes the more highly institutionalized organizations. A third is the hierarchical character of the governmental structure. Such factors as schismatic differentiation, interlocking memberships, and organized opposition to fraternalism have probably accounted in part for this trend of development.

### JOHN ANISFIELD AWARD

Announcement has been made of the third annual John Anisfield prize of \$1,000, which has been awarded to Miss Elin L. Anderson for her book *We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City*, published by the Harvard University Press. This award was established in 1934 by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf of Cleveland, Ohio, in memory of her father, John Anisfield, for the purpose of encouraging and rewarding the production of good books in the field of racial relationships, either here or abroad. The committee of judges consists of Henry Sidel Canby, Contributing Editor of *The Saturday Review*, Donald Young, of the Social Science Research Council, and Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology, New York University.

The list of books from which selection was made this year considerably exceeds that of either previous year in both number and quality. In forming its decision, the Board of judges takes into account first of all certain indispensables, such as high scholarship, literary excellence, and significance of the contribution. Granting these fundamentals, other less tangible qualities are considered, such as readability, clarity, wide appeal, and the probability of reaching a large audience of non-specialists in the matter of race. Taking all these qualities into consideration, Miss Anderson's book is outstanding.

This year for the first time an additional award has been offered, in the form of a Grant-in-Aid of \$500 to facilitate the completion of a significant research project in the field of race relations. This assistance has been granted to Mr. Guy B. Johnson, research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science and associate professor of sociology, University of North Carolina, in connection with his study of the so-called Croatan Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, and their relations with whites and Negroes. This project was recognized by the judges as of particular importance, not only because of its intrinsic significance, but also on account of the transitory nature of the evidence, and the necessity of finishing the study before the significant relationships are modified by the impact of external social change.



## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### INTERVIEWING IN SOCIAL RESEARCH: BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE FIRST FIELD TRIP

J. E. HULETT, JR.

*University of Wisconsin*

THIS paper contains suggestions for meeting some of the problems faced by the student making his first field trip. The discussion will be confined mainly to general and elementary questions that might arise in the use of interview techniques among informants living within an area that may be "worked" from a central location. For some years the technique of interviewing has been discussed and analyzed, particularly by social workers, and many of the suggestions which follow can be found in such well known works as Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis, Interviewing in Social Case Work* by Pauline V. Young, manuals of instruction to case workers, and articles in journals. With direct application to social research, however, the material is much more scattered and fragmentary, although practically all of the standard texts on methods in social research refer to the interview as a tool of social investigation and some offer a few "dos" and "don'ts" for the beginner. Nevertheless, at this time, when the case method and case studies are occupying a prominent place in social research, it is especially valuable to bring together and call attention to those techniques particularly applicable to the research interview, and

which appear so obvious to the experienced investigator that he often overlooks them in his instruction to the beginner. One further word of caution seems pertinent here, namely, that all such techniques are merely suggestions, and will need to be adapted to each particular situation as well as modified by the personality of the investigator and the field or subject under investigation.

#### I

It is expected that the student already has some familiarity with the preparation and formulation of research projects in general; therefore these points will be touched upon only superficially. As an integral part of the preparatory activity he should become fully acquainted with all available source and secondary material on the subject. He should also give much time to deciding exactly what points he wishes to investigate; any so-called "blanket" purpose should be avoided. This suggestion is particularly apropos to an experience of the present writer who, without having adequately delimited his subject, set out on a field trip of several months' duration with the purpose of investigating the family institution in a particular community. After work was

begun it became apparent that perhaps no more than four aspects of the family could be effectively investigated under the circumstances; consequently the following were belatedly accepted as the main points of the study: family economic pursuits, discipline of the members by the father, the wife's authority over the members, and attitudes toward other institutions. Time and effort would have been saved if limits had been set before embarking on the field trip. It should be said, however, that they must not be set too arbitrarily. Modifications are almost certain to be made under pressure of conditions in the field; these should be allowed for, but kept within the basic framework of the project.

In addition to becoming acquainted with the literature, the investigator should canvass his own university or college community for informants with some knowledge of the phenomenon he expects to investigate. Valuable interviews may sometimes be secured in this way; they will supplement the preliminary knowledge of the problem, furnish experience in interviewing, and may also be a source of contacts with informants in the field. These preliminary informants may be induced to write letters home paving the way, and may also furnish letters of introduction which will be found useful. Moreover, from experience thus gained a sort of "interview outline" may be built up. The purpose of this outline will be mentioned later.

After the available sources have been exhausted, the field has been carefully limited, the initial interviews have been made wherever possible, and contacts in the community to be studied have been secured, the student will presumably be ready to leave for the field. It should be unnecessary to say that an adequate supply of equipment such as reference books, maps, notebooks, and other material

should be carried, or its availability in the field assured. The particular project will determine the nature of this equipment.

## II

There will be a number of things to do upon arriving at the research site before formal interviewing is begun. The first of these is to find a suitable place to live. This depends upon the character and location of the project: in some cases it will be desirable to live in a private home, in others a hotel or boarding house will be satisfactory. In any event care should be given to secure a comfortable, congenial, and quiet place. At best the field worker is among strangers; his problems should not be complicated by discomfort and noise where he lives and where ordinarily he will expect to do much of his work.

It is a good idea to spend some time becoming familiar with the history and geography of the community. Walking or driving around, the study of maps, conversation with residents, reading local history, will yield knowledge that will later save time in following directions and readily recognizing local place names and references to landmarks when they occur in interviews. It will thus help the interviewer to appear less of a stranger to the informant.

The interest of the research can generally best be served by assuming the rôle of the "participant observer." This rôle entails attendance at public gatherings, church services, club meetings wherever possible, and may for some purposes extend into a much wider range of the public life of the community to include such places as law courts, fairs, pool rooms, and dance halls. The worker with membership in fraternal organizations or business clubs should immediately begin to participate in the activities of the local chapter or club. He will of course be careful to avoid conspicu-

ous and obtrusive behavior. He should dress according to standards set by the community, and should remember that his speech mannerisms, if considerably at variance from the standards of the community, may jeopardize the success of the research.

Occasionally some local "connection" may be secured that will facilitate acceptance of the worker in the community. Examples of these include appointment as visiting part-time instructor in the local college or high school, a 4-H club field assignment, church work, or membership in the local relief or agricultural experiment station staff. Any connection secured should be scheduled so that it will in no way interfere with the prosecution of the project, which after all is the main interest.

It is not to be assumed from the foregoing that the field worker should submerge himself completely in the community, or should adopt the community folkways to such an extent that he cannot be distinguished from a resident. To be an interested visitor or a research worker carries with it a degree of prestige that should be retained and utilized for whatever benefits it will bring.

In this preliminary acclimating activity it is a good idea to begin keeping a systematic record of daily activities. A carefully kept diary will later prove valuable when writing up the study. In it should be entered even the smallest details of all activities concerned with the project. Attempts to make appointments for interviews even if unsuccessful, casual conversations, and subjective impressions of the site and the people—all should go into the diary. Record-keeping is one of the distinctive elements of research of any kind; the most trivial-seeming item may turn out to be of great value.

### III

We turn now to the problem of obtaining informants. It is anticipated that suitable contacts for future interviews will often be made during the preliminary period just described although an intensive effort to secure informants may sometimes be postponed until the investigator has acquired the "feel" of the community. Except in studies where some sampling technique is employed, the worker usually selects his informants by more or less subjective means, by securing them in any way possible so long as the persons selected can give desired data. In such cases it is best to begin with the contacts established before leaving for the field; through letters of introduction or other devices, these people can either become informants or may be depended upon to furnish names of other persons who can be interviewed. Another good source is through the contacts made with local organizations. Acquaintanceships made here give the worker an entree he might not otherwise have. Names of other prospects are often obtained during the course of interviews. Through all these devices enough leads may be accumulated to enable the worker to be quite selective in making appointments.

It is not always a good idea for the worker to permit friends and acquaintances to make interview appointments for him. Such a procedure is likely to turn out badly because the person with whom the appointment is made may not possess the desired information, may not understand what is expected of him, or may be found actually hostile to the interview. For these and other reasons that will become apparent, time and effort will often be saved if the third person introduces the worker to the prospect either directly, by a note, or by telephone so

that he can make the appointment personally.

In the absence of an introduction by a third person, the worker may be required to make direct approaches to strangers. This technique must be deftly handled, and should be used only as a last resort. The reason for this is that most interviewing concerns personal matters, and to approach a complete stranger for the purpose of asking personal questions sometimes sets up resistances that are hard to break down. In any event, one should endeavor to secure some information about the prospect from a third person before the first contact so that his probable reaction may be anticipated. This information should be used discreetly, however; to discover that he has been "investigated" before this first contact may provoke a hostile reaction from the prospect.

For the worker to make his own appointments from a distance, by telephone or by mail, is often as unsatisfactory as having a third person make the appointment. To follow successfully the procedure outlined in the following paragraph almost always requires that the first contact be a personal one. This will entail a great deal of running about in the community but the results will probably justify it. Of course some people have more success than others in making interview appointments, and are able to use the telephone or mail. Experience gained as the work progresses will show what procedures are the most satisfactory for the individual.

In his first contact with a prospective informant the student should explain in sufficient detail what he is doing, what information he desires, and the method he uses—whether questionnaire, free interview, or what not. Before attempting to make a definite appointment, he should try to ascertain whether the prospect has

the information he seeks and would be willing to give it in an interview. Care should be taken to impress upon him the sincerity of the purpose of the project and the confidential nature of the data that may be secured. This initial contact requires some of the techniques of salesmanship: ordinarily the prospect does not wish to talk to a stranger, or he may be suspicious of the purpose of the research. For example, he is likely to sense quickly any evasive air there might be in the worker's approach.

Making appointments in advance is of course unnecessary in cases where the data desired consist of a few items that may be obtained by asking and receiving answers to several questions. However, in securing extensive life history material, and in studying the family or some other institution, the present author has been able to obtain uniformly better results by giving over the short initial contact to gauging the usefulness of the prospect and explaining the project to him, setting a later time for the more extensive interview. In addition to permitting preparation by the informant where this is desirable, the lapse of a few days before the interview avoids giving the appearance of haste in the work and helps allay suspicion. Too much time should not elapse: perhaps one week is the maximum, and the appointment should be confirmed in some way about a day before the visit.

Allowing a maximum of a week between first contact and interview, the investigator will generally have work scheduled for a week ahead; for if he has his working schedule well organized he will also be making future appointments while he is pursuing the interviewing. Even in those projects where but one session with each informant is sufficient, the matter of occasional second or third visits for the purpose of checking accuracy or obtaining

additional information should be considered, and sufficient leeway should be allowed for them in the advance schedule. This situation presents less of a problem in other projects where a series of sessions with each of a few informants is contemplated in the original plan.

#### IV

As to the interview itself, the first question is that of where it should be held. The best place is one where the informant will be comfortable and at ease and noise and interruptions will be kept at a minimum. Perhaps the informant's home is most suitable, although a store or office may occasionally be utilized. The circumstances of the individual case will determine this matter. Except in unusual situations it is poor practice to ask an informant to come to the interviewer's office or place of residence; it puts him in strange surroundings and may cause him to feel that he is being unnecessarily imposed upon.

The presence of other persons at the interview should be discouraged, unless some special purpose is accomplished by interviewing a group of people together. In general, other adults in the room introduce an inhibiting factor, and cause interruptions and uncalled-for attempts at correction of details. The presence of children running about is definitely a distracting factor; this often occurs in a private residence, and ordinarily nothing can be done about it. The interviewer must anticipate these problems and arrange the time and place of the interview in such a manner that these influences will be minimized.

Physical disabilities in the informants such as deafness, blindness, illness, extreme age, become special problems in some projects, and occasionally an attempt

to obtain information in such cases is fruitless. Little can be said with respect to this problem except that it must be left up to the judgment of the field worker when to attempt interviews under these circumstances.

The particular technique of the interview should be decided upon in the preliminary formulation of the project. Throughout this paper it has been assumed that it is conducted without a formal questionnaire, the informant being permitted to give the data with only occasional comments and questions from the investigator. Assuming that the informant already knows the purpose, the interview should begin and proceed quite as would any conversation limited to a particular subject. It is here that the interviewer's knowledge of the community and the people becomes useful. If he can converse freely concerning the geography and history of the community or the institution he is studying, and if he gives an impression of sincere and sympathetic interest in the people, he will appear less of a stranger; consequently his chances of success are improved.

At no time should the worker lose sight of the usefulness of making the session interesting for the informant. His contribution to the interview is only a little less valuable than is the informant's. This is not to say that he should monopolize the conversation, but he will be expected to keep the interview from lagging by occasional comments which his own ingenuity will suggest. After a few unfortunate experiences on a recent field trip the writer discovered that he must avoid appearing to know too much about the community and its people. Under the circumstances, he decided to limit his comments to generally known and relatively unemotionalized items, and particularly to avoid unnecessarily revealing

information gained from interviews with other informants.

Each interview should proceed according to some general, flexible outline. The prospectus for the field trip will probably present under special headings the data to be obtained. These headings, with modifications growing out of the early interviewing experience, will furnish the essence of the outline; the comments and questions of the worker should be so designed as to prevent the conversation from wandering from it. In some circumstances judicious use of leading questions is permissible. Whatever the technique used to direct the interview, it should not be permitted to become obvious to the informant. The experienced investigator, for example, is wary of falling into a cut-and-dried routine of questioning which may completely bore, if it does not actually antagonize, the informant.

Lack of self-confidence on the part of the interviewer quickly affects the informant. This is often reflected in an impulse of the worker to retreat from the interview, to conclude the session abruptly and perhaps go on to another informant. This is most likely to occur in the early days of the field trip, before he has disposed of the subjective problems arising from his own emotional and other reactions to the work. These problems arise partly out of the unusual conditions under which he is working: he is probably among strangers, in a strange environment—in a word, he is quite definitely "on his own," often for the first time in his experience. Other subjective problems arise out of his reaction to the various types of informants: his first contact with a garrulous, an exceedingly reticent, or a restless or antagonistic informant, will be somewhat of a shock. It is obviously necessary for him to adapt his technique to meet the exigencies of each new situation.

The garrulous informant may be handled by the use of leading questions and comments, unless the garrulosity produces valuable information. The reticent informant can be dealt with by various efforts to bring out the data—comments designed to demonstrate the worker's good faith and sincerity, patient questioning that stops just short of becoming too persistent. The restless or ill-at-ease person is a poor informant. The interviewer should do everything he can to reduce tension, and the first rule for accomplishing this is to be sure he is not under tension himself. Sometimes, however, the restlessness is caused by interruptions by other persons, or by the inauspicious time and place of the interview; in these cases the interview should be terminated and resumed at a more suitable time. The antagonistic informant must be dealt with much as the reticent one, with the added suggestion that the worker have a method of meeting calmly and reasonably any attacks that may be made upon his own sincerity and good faith. Whatever may be the initial reaction of the informant, the investigator should so conduct his interview that at the conclusion he will have no trouble in securing an invitation to return.

If only a small amount of information is required, the problem of time limitation may not arise, but in many projects some attention must be given to this question. As stated above, if the informant begins to be restless or tired, the session should be terminated and resumed later. As for the worker, the usual experience is that an interview lasting longer than two-and-one-half hours puts too great a tax on his retentive capacity; two hours is the usual maximum. If a greater amount of information is required of each informant, the interview should be broken up into a series of sessions. It is not a good idea

to place a time limit on the interview when making the appointment, unless it is suggested by the informant. The worker should have his procedure so organized that the information he desires may be secured in the period without undue haste or neglect of any subject, and the conversation should draw naturally and logically to a close in the allotted time.

Preferably notes should not be taken during the interview; the worker should train himself to retain the material until he has had time to write it up later. The principal reason against note-taking is that the presence of a notebook and pencil is likely to inhibit the informant: if he sees his words industriously written down, he may become over-cautious to be sure of "getting it right," or he may balk completely at the thought of being directly quoted. Some people are uninhibited in the presence of a notebook; with these note-taking is permissible, although the interviewer should be extremely cautious in its use. On many occasions the writer has been able to bring the notebook into service by asking permission to write down a few exact details like names, dates, or places after they have occurred in the interview. Even in these occasional instances, however, it was thought good practice to use a very small notebook or cards and a short, stubby pencil, and to avoid the appearance of meticulously writing down the informant's every word.

The question of payment of informants is a difficult one; it is not a good idea to give the appearance of being willing to buy information from all comers, but in some few instances it may seem advisable to make a judicious offer of payment for the time consumed by the interview. This varies with the situation and the culture: anthropologists often pay their informants. However, unless a great

amount of the informant's time is required in a series of interviews, or in writing a lengthy autobiography, the sociologist will seldom feel called upon to make an offer of payment.

## V

Regardless of the intended final disposition of the interview material, it should be put into some systematic written form in the field. The author of this article obtained best results by writing a running account of the interview, not necessarily in the exact order in which it occurred, but under headings on the basis of the interview outline for the sake of coherence. This account was written as nearly as possible in the words of the informant and contained as much of the material as could be remembered. In order to avoid confusion, the exact words of the informant were indicated by quotation marks, and paraphrased comments were also indicated. Of course care was taken to record such details as name of informant, date, place, hour, and length of interview.

The worker should also record his own comments and impressions along with the interview, reserving these until the informant's statements have been recorded, in order to avoid interrupting the account with more or less extraneous comments. These interviewer reactions should contain observations on the attitude of the informant, his obvious rationalizations, and a statement of the worker's judgment of his future usefulness. Sometimes the most important material yielded by the interview is not what the informant says, but what he does and seems to think.

Writing up the interview usually requires as much time as the interview itself and this should be allowed for in making up the time schedule of advance appointments. It is appropriate to say here that perhaps two is the optimum number of

interviews that can be made in a single day—assuming, of course, that they are expected to last for about two hours each. The remainder of the day's time may be efficiently used in writing the interviews, making future appointments, attending meetings, reading in local libraries, and other such activities.

Occasionally under pressure of time it will be necessary to have several interviews in one day, as, for instance, when a short overnight side-trip has been arranged for the purpose of interviewing several informants in a remote part of the research site. This situation imposes a special burden upon the worker, because he may be forced to retain two or three different sets of data until time for writing is available. At best this is dangerous practice; but when no remedy is possible, note-taking may be resorted to, or a very brief sketch of the main points of each interview may be written immediately afterwards. As a general principle, however, the worker should not develop the habit of depending upon notes, and should never delay overnight the writing of the interview, or conduct another before writing up the previous one.

Stenographers' notebooks are useful for keeping the interview material if the worker writes notes in longhand; if he uses a typewriter, loose sheets are necessary, but should be numbered and bound securely. Typed notes have this advantage, that the carbon copy may be kept in a different place from the original, in the interest of safety.

## VI

A few miscellaneous suggestions remain. The beginner in interviewing is troubled sometimes with the necessity of salving his conscience against his new and probably unwanted habit of prying into the personal, intimate affairs of the informant.

This prying can only be justified on the basis of the scientific purpose of the research, the confidence in which the material is held, and the anonymity of the individual interview as it appears in the final article or monograph.

Consciously or unconsciously appearing to conceal the purpose of the field trip will endanger the chances of success in interviewing. The writer has often used two practices that seem to increase the informant's confidence in the project; one of these was to be prepared to offer him a transcript of the interview in order that he might check it for accuracy if he so desired; the other was to offer to send him a reprint of the final report, or, if the report was to be in the form of a monograph, to send a copy to the local library.

The necessity of filling the rôle of the participant observer is worthy of re-emphasis. Among other things, this rôle requires a genuine sympathy with the cultural phenomenon under examination. However, one is ordinarily unable simply to determine that he will be sympathetic and humble in his research and then to succeed in being genuinely sympathetic and humble. Not every student may confidently expect success in interviewing; it should be evident from the foregoing that his personal qualities are one of the determining factors. Certainly some must expect to achieve only a moderate success in making themselves unreservedly acceptable to their informants and in getting the feel of their community. To use the popular terms, while the extravert may find it easier to make contacts, it is probable that the more introverted personality will find it easier to achieve the necessary identification with the object of study and the informants. The combination of identification of a sort, with a private attitude of aloofness and objectivity is, of course, essential.

## VII

This paper has not attempted to give an exact formula for success in field work. It presents only a statement of some of the general problems encountered in the use of one particular technique of social research, with suggestions for meeting them. The student reading these pages, therefore, should not suppose that his every difficulty

is thus disposed of. In any project the problems encountered are a function of several variables: the nature of the phenomenon to be studied, the locality, the position of the phenomenon in time, the season of the year, facilities for travel, and the student's own personality. To the student himself must be left the final task of successfully resolving these factors.

SOME FINDINGS OF A STANDARD OF LIVING STUDY MADE OF  
WHITE FARM FAMILIES ON SAND  
MOUNTAIN, ALABAMA\*

ERVILLA ALICE MASTERS

*Snead Junior College*

FARM families with an average of 5.8 members and an average cash income of \$391 available for family living cannot maintain a very high standard of living even though a large percentage of living is furnished by the farm. Such is the condition of the 40 white farm families in a study made for the year 1935 in the Sand Mountain area of northern Alabama. All of these families have dependent children.

The information was obtained relative to income, both cash income and the living furnished by the farm; expenditures for family living; and expenditures for operating the farm. Farm expenses were secured only as a means of checking the accuracy of the living expenses reported. Eighty schedules were obtained. For 11 almost no data on incomes and expenditures were secured. For 40 the reported incomes and expenditures checked quite closely. These were used in evaluating the standard of

\* Brief of a thesis, *Standards Of Living Of Farm Families Of The Sand Mountain Plateau Of Northern Alabama*, written for a Master's degree, Iowa State College, June, 1937.

living as indicated by expenditures and the living furnished by the farm. The remaining 29 schedules, whose incomes and expenditures did not check closely, and the 11 incomplete schedules were used in the analysis of community organizations and recreation, the house and its furnishings, and the exterior appearance of the house and grounds.

The 40 families whose incomes and expenditures were analyzed have net cash incomes ranging from \$78 to \$1361. Forty-five per cent are owners and 55 percent are tenants. (See Table 1.) Owners live better than tenants do. They have a larger total value of family living; they have a larger amount furnished by the farm; and they live on larger farms and in better houses than tenants do although both groups have the same size families. Owners also spend more for insurance and savings than do tenants.

These 40 families are classified into three groups on the basis of the size of their net income. The higher the income the larger is the family living. The part of the living that is furnished by the farm

increases in amount as the income increases but the percentage that it is of the total living decreases.

nine per cent of the total value of family living is used for food (50 per cent being furnished and 9 per cent purchased).

TABLE 1. AVERAGE VALUE OF LIVING OF 40 FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ON BASIS OF NET INCOME AND TENURE; NUMBER AND SIZE OF FAMILIES; INSURANCE AND SAVINGS; VALUE OF DWELLINGS; SIZE OF FARMS

|                   | NUMBER OF FAMILIES | AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY | AVERAGE VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING† |                   |           |     | INSURANCE AND SAVINGS | VALUE OF DWELLINGS | NUMBER ACRES IN FARM |     |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----|
|                   |                    |                        | Total                           | Furnished by farm | Purchased |     |                       |                    |                      |     |
|                   |                    |                        |                                 |                   |           |     |                       |                    |                      |     |
| Income groups:*   |                    |                        |                                 |                   |           |     |                       |                    |                      |     |
| Under \$750.....  | 10                 | 5.2                    | 612                             | 418               | 68.3      | 194 | 31.7                  | 4                  | 360                  | 37  |
| \$750-\$1000..... | 18                 | 6.0                    | 918                             | 586               | 63.9      | 332 | 36.1                  | 7                  | 600                  | 79  |
| Over \$1000.....  | 12                 | 6.2                    | 1,269                           | 719               | 56.6      | 550 | 43.4                  | 65                 | 600                  | 118 |
| All.....          | 40                 | 5.8                    | 947                             | 584               | 61.7      | 363 | 38.3                  | 24                 | 543                  | 57  |
| Tenure groups:    |                    |                        |                                 |                   |           |     |                       |                    |                      |     |
| Owners.....       | 18                 | 5.8                    | 1,091                           | 625               | 57.3      | 466 | 42.7                  | 36                 | 750                  | 101 |
| Tenants.....      | 22                 | 5.8                    | 829                             | 551               | 66.4      | 278 | 33.6                  | 14                 | 451                  | 70  |

\* The income groups include the 40 families of this study, whose complete incomes and expenditures were obtained, arranged according to their net incomes.

† Value of family living is the cost of all consumer goods purchased plus the living furnished by the farm. It includes one-half the cost of operation and upkeep of the automobile. Insurance and savings are not included.

TABLE 2. AVERAGE VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AND ITS DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF GOODS USED

| INCOME GROUPS     | TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING | RENTAL VALUE OF HOUSE* | FUEL FURNISHED | TOBACCO FURNISHED | FOOD FURNISHED AND PURCHASED | CLOTHING | HOUSE REPAIR AND EQUIPMENT | OPERATING EXPENSES | PERSONAL | SICKNESS AND HEALTH | ADVANCEMENT† |
|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------|--------------|
| Amounts (dollars) |                              |                        |                |                   |                              |          |                            |                    |          |                     |              |
| Under \$750.....  | 612                          | 36                     | 44             | 0                 | 421                          | 51       | 5                          | 12                 | 13       | 23                  | 7            |
| \$750-\$1000..... | 918                          | 60                     | 53             | 1                 | 556                          | 99       | 16                         | 28                 | 20       | 49                  | 36           |
| Over \$1000.....  | 1,269                        | 60                     | 82             | 0                 | 670                          | 118      | 72                         | 60                 | 22       | 113                 | 72           |
| All.....          | 947                          | 54                     | 59             | 1                 | 556                          | 93       | 30                         | 34                 | 18       | 62                  | 40           |
| Percentages       |                              |                        |                |                   |                              |          |                            |                    |          |                     |              |
| Under \$750.....  | 100                          | 5.9                    | 7.2            | 0.0               | 68.8                         | 8.4      | 0.8                        | 2.0                | 2.0      | 3.7                 | 1.1          |
| \$750-\$1000..... | 100                          | 6.6                    | 5.7            | 0.1               | 60.5                         | 10.8     | 1.8                        | 3.0                | 2.1      | 5.3                 | 4.0          |
| Over \$1000.....  | 100                          | 4.7                    | 6.4            | 0.0               | 52.8                         | 9.3      | 5.6                        | 4.8                | 1.7      | 8.9                 | 5.7          |
| All.....          | 100                          | 5.7                    | 6.2            | 0.1               | 58.8                         | 9.8      | 3.2                        | 3.6                | 2.0      | 6.5                 | 4.2          |

\* Rental value of the house is 10 per cent of its total value.

† Advancement includes education, recreation, and community welfare.

The distribution of the total value of living among the various classes of goods presents some interesting facts. This distribution is shown in Table 2. Fifty-

There is no relation between the size of the family or the size of the income, and the amounts spent by individual families for clothing. For example, in the low

income group one family of three spent \$39, another family of three spent \$115, and a family of seven spent only \$30.

A very significant fact is that \$62, the average amount spent for sickness and health, is 16 per cent of the cash income that is available for family living. As most of it is for doctors' and hospitals' bills and medicine, this would seem to be indicative of poor living conditions. In comparison with this amount, advancement, which includes education, recreation, and community welfare, takes only 10 per cent of the available cash income.

Insurance and savings are considered together. These are not included in the total value of family living. Fifteen of the 40 families have life insurance (usually in the form of burial insurance). The average cost is \$7 for insurance. Average savings are \$17. This does not, however, represent the full amount of savings, for 15 families made payments on mortgages which were counted in the farm expenditures. Families for the most part were unable to separate interest and principal payments. Undoubtedly some money also went into the farm and its equipment as savings for a number of families purchased new farm machinery.

All 80 families are included in the analysis of houses and household equipment. For the most part the houses and house yards do not present an attractive appearance. Over half the houses have not been painted and, judging from the outside appearance, two-thirds of them need repairing. None are modern, that is, have central heating and lighting systems, running water, indoor toilet, and sewage disposal, and very few are even partly modern. Thirty families have no toilet either inside or out. None of the families has electric lights or irons, washing machines, or telephones. Sixty-four families have sewing machines.

These families have a low standard of living when judged by the amount spent for family living and its distribution among the various classes of goods used. An important question that might be asked here with regard to the income and the way it is spent is: do the families choose wisely and make the best possible use of income that they have. The author feels that they do not.

Standards of living are also judged by interest shown in education, public affairs, and activities outside the home. On the whole the people do not seem greatly interested in education, especially a college education. Probably both the lack of education of the parents and limitation of the income causes this indifference. Less than one-third of the families take a daily paper. Six families receive no newspaper or magazine of any kind. The author went into 78 houses of the 80 homes visited and in only two were any books in evidence. They were partly old school books. It is evident that travel is not a factor in the education of these families for only a few have traveled any distance from home. Neither do clubs and organizations play a vital part in the lives of the people. Eight women belong to clubs, and four men belong to lodges. Five boys are members of the Future Farmers of America and 14 boys and girls belong to 4-H clubs.

The interest in public affairs may be judged by the fact that only 16 men reported voting the year of the study and only one woman had ever voted. The required payment of a \$2 poll tax (including all back taxes missed) in order to be eligible to vote may partly account for this. Some men said, however, that they had never voted and some women said they thought that women have no business voting.

Comparing the figures of this study

with figures of Kirkpatrick's study of 2,886 white farm families (made in 11 states), and Hoyt's study of 147 Iowa farm families, these figures indicate a lower standard of living. For example, the families of this study have a smaller total

value of living; the proportion going to food is larger; the proportion going to sickness and health is larger; the amount spent for insurance and savings is smaller; and the amount spent for education and all forms of advancement is smaller.

## SOME PEDAGOGICAL DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN THE TEACHING OF A COURSE IN THE FAMILY

JOHN F. CUBER

*Kent State University*

IT APPEARS unfortunate that so little formal discussion of pedagogical problems from the point of view of the teacher of sociology is to be found in current sociological journals. Perhaps the comparative newness of the field and the great need for more reliable subject matter have tended to eclipse what seem to be obvious instructional problems, or, too, sociologists may have been better trained to recognize social problems than pedagogical ones. At any rate greater attention to the strictly teaching aspects of sociology should need little apology.

There are probably few courses in sociology which so frequently cause the thoughtful teacher as much consternation as the course in the family. Not that the subject matter is either more scanty, more difficult of mastery, or more inaccessible than that in other fields of sociology, but rather that, pedagogically speaking, the course presents some particularly awkward problems. The problem of objectives is one which appears to be of prime importance. Few courses, including the introductory course in "principles," seem to present such an array of logical objectives which are as difficult to reconcile with one another in the classroom.

There are at least four types of objectives which can be cited as logical aims

underlying the teaching of a course in the family. First, there is the purely "cultural" objective, analogous, for example, to the purpose of a course in physical anthropology or Elizabethan drama. The instructor expects the students to make little, if any, practical use of the data presented in the course. Second, there is what might be called the *practical* aim. In some catalog descriptions of courses bearing the title "The Family" it is stated that the course aims to acquaint the student with problems of personality adjustment and family tensions in order, presumably, that he might order his own family behavior more "scientifically" or at least intelligently. Third, there may be a *professional objective*. Physicians, ministers, social workers and others find that they have increasing need of certain techniques and facts concerning the family in order to solve problems peculiar to their respective clients. In increasing numbers such students are coming to the sociologist for assistance. Lastly, there is the purely *sociological* objective. It is more specific and perhaps scientific than what has been termed the "cultural" although in other respects it may be similar. The goal here is to familiarize the student whose professional interests are in the field of sociology with this phase of his study, with the

various approaches to the family institution, and with the research which has been undertaken. The focus of attention here is the family, *per se*, as a phase of social organization and of the social process with the more immediate practical considerations more or less in the background.

The importance of the problem of objectives was first brought to the attention of the writer when he requested a class of some fifty students in the family course to state (anonymously, of course,) the reasons why the course was elected and what value it might have for them. Excluding those who "wanted to try a new prof." or who "wanted three hours credit in sociology," it was discovered that several students selected the course with these various objectives in mind. When an attempt was made by the instructor to meet the specific needs of each of these groups of students, the seriousness of the fundamental problem of objectives became clearly apparent. In some instances, of course, the needs of all could be met fairly well by the same subject matter and method of presentation. But, much more frequently the reverse was found to be true. Those with a general cultural objective were more interested in, and probably should have had more attention devoted to, the anthropological and historical development of the family, while those with a practical interest desired more detailed attention paid to current socio-psychological data concerning modern family tensions and their psychiatric treatment. Students interested in sociology as a profession wanted greater emphasis on sociological research projects, especially concerning their methodology, while others were content with the more general conclusions only, and considered methodological discussion as merely so much academic cant. Those with pro-

fessional careers related to the family wished more attention devoted to agencies such as marriage clinics and domestic relations courts, others were not much concerned with "family pathology" and "social uplift."

Not only the subject matter to be included, but the point of view likewise varied with each group. The sociological group and the cultural group were in the main interested in learning what "was" and "is," whereas others were desirous of knowing what "should be" or what conditions "could be" attained. Thus, while a discussion more or less strictly divorced from social-ethical considerations met the objectives of one group, the other groups desired essentially ethical—even theological—aspects of the family treated fully.

Of course, if one is unaware of the existence of such divergent interests and objectives on the part of students taking the course, or if he is so completely immersed in some one or other of them himself, he may go on teaching "his" course quite innocent of the real problem at hand. However, that is not to imply that mere awareness of the situation, even when accompanied by a disposition to adapt the course, necessarily insures an improvement in pedagogy. The difficulty seems to persist.

To some extent the difficulty may be mitigated through the use of various current pedagogical devices for the individualization of instruction. Work on term papers may be so directed that students have the opportunity to do reading and research more in keeping with their own interests. Likewise conferences with individual students or small groups may accomplish something, provided the instructor has a schedule which permits any appreciable amount of such "extravagant" use of time. But, nevertheless, despite

these exceptions the main impact of present day college and university teaching comes in the classroom, and especially during the lecture, and this medium is ill-adapted to individualized instruction. The group for whom the lecture is intended should be a relatively homogeneous one if the lecture is to be at all effective.

It is quite possible, of course, that too much concern is being here devoted to this matter of divergent objectives and the pedagogical problems which emanate therefrom. However, if higher education is to be functional, not merely formalistic, sociologists along with specialized pedagogues in other fields, will do well to take cognizance of some of these problems and dilemmas which seem to be inherent in contemporary modes of instruction and current student interests. The course in the family is probably not the only one among those customarily offered in sociology departments to which these remarks are apropos.

Perhaps the problem is more organic than is here implied. It is conceivable that the whole educational superstructure is so devoid of the functional point of view advocated today by our best students of education, and so completely dominated by more minutely scientific and academic interests, that any instructor or any individual department is almost powerless to do anything essentially constructive toward the solution of these difficulties.

On the other hand, if and when there occurs a widespread awareness of such practical educational problems as the one mentioned here secondary education will probably see the need for being reorganized sufficiently to cope with them. Yet it would seem that some highly significant pioneer work could be done by a few inventive and conscientious college teachers who would ask themselves such pertinent questions as: Precisely what do I intend to accomplish by this particular course? What sort of a need on the part of students does this course aim to meet? (as I conceive it). Just what do the *students* enrolled in the course desire from it? What can be done to meet these demands? Do they conflict with one another? How may the conflict, if any, be resolved? However important this study may seem to me academically, does it meet any current educational objective? Or is it a hodge podge of data, and points of view in which no one objective is consistently pointed and needless confusion for the majority of students the result?

Perhaps after an interim during which sociological specialists bedevil themselves and one another with such strictly pedagogical queries, and make the necessary practical deductions from the answers, the witticism to the effect that most professors are excellent scientists but lamentably poor educators may no longer be apropos.

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE FOLLOW-UP: THE CLIENT'S OWN STORY OF SOCIAL CASE TREATMENT\*

ANNE F. FENLASON AND MARY L. HUFF

*University of Minnesota*

THE social case treatment experience is one in which the worker and the client participate actively and consciously. The degree to which each influences it, and the relative control exercised by each, has been a matter of discussion, decided usually in favor of the case worker.

Though much has been written about needs of developing measurements for the effectiveness of social work,—particularly social case work in children and family agencies, the results have been judged primarily from the case worker's point of view. In any evaluative study of social case treatment, conclusions predicated on opinions of this sort are of necessity one-sided, as they represent only one element in the process.

An evaluation outline<sup>1</sup> developed for the purpose of the study of the content of social case treatment has as its last section,<sup>2</sup> an interview, made with the client after the case had been closed. The interview is based on a series of questions, so

\* This study was made possible by contributions from the University of Minnesota's Fluid Research Fund of the Graduate School.

<sup>1</sup> The Minnesota Evaluation Outline for the Analysis of Case Records—U. of Minn. 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Section VIII.

constructed as to include material, which, when answered, would present a fair picture of the client's own story of his experience with social case treatment. These questions were administered in a conversational manner to 35 former clients of social agencies, after the purpose of the visit had been made clear. In the analysis which follows we have grouped the questions for convenience under four headings.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIEF AND SERVICES (ASSISTANCE) WHICH THE CLIENT BROUGHT WITH HIM TO THE AGENCY<sup>3</sup>

Information bearing on this topic was secured from the answers to the following questions:

1. Did you ever picture yourself getting assistance from some such agency before you actually came?
2. How did you imagine you would feel? Why?
3. Did you really find it as you had pictured it? Explain.
4. Did you ever imagine you would like to be a social worker? Why or why not? What would you have done if you were, and someone came to you with your problem?

Heretofore, social case workers have considered client attitudes mainly from

<sup>3</sup> The agencies involved in the evaluation studies were the private and public family agencies in St. Paul and Minneapolis, the Mothers Aid in Minneapolis, and the Child Guidance Clinic in St. Paul.

the angle of the difficult client. Their concern has been along the line of overcoming resistance or coping with those recalcitrant persons whose case was put in the category of those captioned "Closed. Client refused to cooperate." The attempt to understand his attitude toward the whole case work process and the agency in order that it might be used as a constructive thing in the relationship has not been done to any great extent.

The client's attitude toward the agency is potentially a conditioning factor in the treatment relationship. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. A., a Negro family who had adopted a mulatto child four years of age, the attitude was one favorably disposed to the contact. They had come to the family agency by reason of a heavy indebtedness, and left two years later following a quarrel with the visitor over the purchase of an electric refrigerator. The closing summary read: "Family preferred to make own plans." From her replies to the questions of the follow-up, it was found that:

Mrs. A. had not pictured herself as getting any assistance from any agency until their bills had begun to pile up. However, she was well acquainted with the services offered through budgeting, and of the considerate help given, and so she did not mind it in the least. Her niece had had this assistance and it had been such a pleasant experience that Mrs. A. really anticipated the same type of contact. She did not find it as she had expected, because the assistance given was always so limited that she felt at first that the worker had a grudge against her. . . . Had someone come to her with the same problems she would have done fundamentally the same, but "would not have been nearly so tight-fisted." She would love to be a social worker, "as sympathy is my middle name."

In this instance it seemed that the worker and the client differed in degree rather than in the manner of handling her problem. However, notwithstanding the favorable attitude which the woman had toward the agency, the disappointment and disagreement that arose when the

treatment did not come up to her expectations were sufficient to terminate the contact.

The G. family had become known to the agency due to a multiplicity of causes,—poor health of Mrs. G. and three of the children, lack of income in the family, and the impending loss of home due to lack of payments.

Added to this situation was Mr. G.'s attitude toward relief and his refusal to go to the agency's office for fear that some of his friends might see him there. His mother had had to get assistance and Mr. G. had resented what she had undergone in the process:

Neither she nor Mr. G. had imagined themselves ever needing assistance. Both had been surprised at the services that were given. She stated she would like to be a social worker if she had the education, because then she could help people. . . . If she were a social worker and someone came to her with problems like her own, she would try to help them as she was helped.

Here again the agency functions were interpreted to the client, who understood and accepted them. The relationship also was a satisfactory bit of experience to the client. Although a transfer to another agency was necessitated by financial changes, and although the family frequently balked on the worker's proposals, they still were confident that the whole treatment at the first agency was carried out as they desired it.

Clients who come with favorable attitudes, expecting from the agency services that lie outside its field, presage less favorable outcome, particularly if a careful job of interpretation and treatment is not done.

Mrs. Z. had had the experience of having to ask for and receive assistance for a short period of time about twelve years prior to her application to the Family Society. Her current husband, who hap-

pened to be her fourth, had suddenly become extremely jealous, and had submitted her to general indignities, and had announced his intentions of withdrawal of support. Mrs. Z. went to the judge to whom she had gone on a previous and similar occasion and he had referred her to the Family Society, explaining that they could "put a stop to all of Mr. Z.'s rambunctiousness." So Mrs. Z. came to the agency, believing it to be a long arm of the law. There is no indication in the record that any interpretation was given her of the agency's functions and limitations. The contact started off on a dramatic note, when, after the first interview the worker had had with Mr. Z., he fled the city, leaving the house by way of the second floor window. Mrs. Z. then felt that it was the Society's duty to support her and her two girls. The whole experience was a complete disappointment to her. She stated:

Upon application to the agency for help on her domestic situation, she was sure that the Family Society would do as he (the judge) had said. She had no feelings other than hopefulness that it would. . . . Had someone come to her with the same problem she would have found out what they wanted done, and how they wanted to do it. In case she could not have done it she would have explained the reason, and "would have been human" about it. She had wanted her daughter H. to be a social worker.

This case was characterized by two divergent methods of approach to the problem exemplified by the worker on the one hand, and Mrs. Z. on the other. It was closed after twenty-four and a half months of wrangling because "Mrs. Z. preferred following her own plans in preference to those proposed by the agency."

The attitudes reflected in these excerpts are typical of those contained in the 35 cases studied. The attitudes toward the agency varied from those favorably disposed to those that were hostile, with

some professing no particular attitude. The contacts varied in satisfaction from complete disappointment to surprise at the services over and above what was expected.

The women tended to envision themselves as social workers. All seemed to feel that their original requests to the agency were warranted and that had they been social workers, they would have granted them. When the agency's function was carefully explained, there tended to be better rapport and results in spite of the agency's limitations.

#### THE CLIENT'S CONCEPTION OF HIS PROBLEM:

##### WHAT HE WANTED DONE ABOUT IT AND WHAT HE EXPECTED WOULD BE DONE ABOUT IT

Information bearing on this section was obtained from the answers to the following questions:

1. What brought you to the agency?
2. What did you want it to do for you?
3. What did you expect it to do?

It is usually some tangible incident or situation that brings a client to an agency for assistance;—the loss of a job or the exhaustion of savings after a period of unemployment; or severe illness; or mental aberration; desertion; delinquency; or acute marital infelicity. Though many other problems may be and usually are present, the pressing one from the client's point of view furnishes the stimulus for making the application.

The client's definition of the situation, though frequently superficial and incomplete, furnishes the worker with the beginnings of working hypotheses in respect to that case.

It happens frequently that a client comes to an agency not only with his problem but also with his own proposed method of solution. Usually he believes that the

agency can do it his way if the worker is willing and understanding.

Excessive debts had brought the A.'s to the agency, and they wanted budgeting assistance in clearing them up. They expected that they would receive this help and in the way desired. In actuality the treatment given was what the family wanted but not to the degree desired. This limitation had adverse effects upon the treatment carried out with this family.

Mrs. Z. was having trouble with her husband. Her specific complaints were that he called her "vile names, he spit in her face," and he was non-supporting. She wanted the agency to put a stop to all of this. She expected implicitly that it would do this since she had been referred to the agency by someone in authority and who promised her that it would be done. Mrs. Z. explained that she wanted help in getting Mr. Z. to "act right." She was beginning to doubt his sanity, and realized that soon it would be a "killing scrape," especially if he ever attempted the spitting performance again. She only wanted the family agency to help her straighten out her domestic difficulties and make it plain to Mr. Z. that he had to support her and the children. She expected that the agency would do this.

Mr. K.'s temporary illness was the reason for referral of his family, since it left them with no income. The K.'s request was for assistance until such time as Mr. K. had regained his health and recovered his job. They expected to receive this assistance without any involvements of case work. They grew continually more dissatisfied as the agency grew increasingly interested in the problems apparent to it. The worker found other situations existing and considered them problems, and for that reason failed to meet the family's request for transfferral to the Public Bureau which gave only relief. The family consistently denied the existence of any other needs.

Frequently the manner of handling certain problems is prescribed by law, and the family accepts these prescriptions. However, dissatisfaction frequently arises with the methods used by the case worker who handles the family. For example:

Total incapacity of the wage earner was the reason that the Y. family needed assistance through Mother's Aid. They wanted the allowance that was granted by the state to eligible mothers and expected that it would be given to them. Here the family knew that

it was a matter of legal procedure. The disagreeable aspect of it was the manner in which the case worker administered it, and the seeming lack of regard for their feelings and wishes.

Those families who have had previous contact with an agency bring back to it residues of the previous experiences and tend to expect an outcome comparable or similar.

Mrs. C. referred Thurman to the Child Study Clinic for treatment because of his restlessness, hyperactivity, lack of concentration, and poor adjustment with playmates. She wished assistance in clearing up these problems. She expected the clinic to do just that. She had had similar services with one of the older boys, and knew what to anticipate. This attitude was held in spite of the fact that Thurman was quite a different type of youngster and with different behavior difficulties.

If one can accept as valid these statements given by ex-clients, their problems were defined in terms of what brought them to the agency. In each case cited, the family had its own solution to offer, and expected that the subsequent treatment would be patterned after it, though in instances the type of solution lay outside the agency's functions. A further misunderstanding frequently arose when the case workers applied treatment to problems either not recognized by the family or with which the families did not wish to have assistance.

#### THE WORKER'S CONCEPTION OF CLIENT'S PROBLEM AND WHAT WAS DONE ABOUT IT

This division included the following questions:

1. Did the visitor understand your problems?
2. Did you try to explain your problems to the visitor?
3. What did the visitor do for you?
4. What did the visitor leave undone that you would have liked to have had her do?
5. How could the visitor have known about it?
6. Could the visitor have done anything about it? Explain.

7. Did the visitor complicate any of your problems? Explain.

8. Would your problems have cleared up without the visitor?

The client's story of what the visitor did to clear up his problem was revealing. In those instances where the account given by the client was discrepant from that given by the visitor, the discrepancy seemed to have been particularly significant to the outcome of treatment.

From the cases studied the possible plan-situations seemed to divide themselves into three categories: (a) cases in which the client and the worker's plans and methods of effecting them coincided; (b) cases in which the client and the worker's plans were different, but through the compromise of one or both, the ultimate outcome was satisfactory to one or both, and the broad plans were agreeable or at least convergent. There might have been minor disagreement as to detail. It was unfortunately apparent that concessions frequently were greater on the part of the client than on the part of the worker; (c) cases in which the client and the worker had antagonistic plans upon which no agreement was reached and the case was finally closed. "Client refused to cooperate" was a term still used either actually or implicitly.

This separation is clear-cut for a specific situation only. Case treatment on any problem includes many different situations, and it is obvious that all groupings might occur in the configuration of the situation.

The A. family represented a combination of the first and third groups, the latter becoming predominant toward the end of the contact.

Mrs. A. did not think that her first visitor had the slightest idea of what that trouble was nor of how to go about clearing it up. Referring to the second worker her response was "I wonder. Maybe

she did partly." . . . She had made efforts to explain her problem to both visitors. . . . "The visitors did a plenty of budgeting, but none of the advancing of money for things needed." At the time when they needed items of clothing, insurance money and the like, these were refused. . . . Disappointed in this, there was nothing else that the A. family wanted. Of these needs Mrs. A. commented that "both visitors knew of them but claimed that if they followed the budget it could not be done. . . . The visitors could have done something about it, since it had been done in the case of my niece. It wasn't the welfare's fault." Mrs. A. felt that the visitors did complicate the problem of her relationship with their adopted child, Carrie Mae. When she had first adopted the girl, she had been irritated to an extreme with the flood of unsolicited advice as to what to tell her and when, in regards to Carrie Mae's mother, a Caucasian. Any place she had taken the child she had been made to feel conscious of their difference in appearance. She had become openly impatient and having "spoken her mind" to several of her self-appointed advisers, had gotten the matter well in hand, and grown unconscious of it to an extent. But as soon as the first welfare visitor called on her she made an issue of this "light child" and wanted to know if she was not afraid that Carrie Mae would reject her as a mother, and pleaded with her never to tell Carrie that her mother was white. Mrs. A. wondered if they could not ever think of something else to talk about or stay out of it entirely since it was she and Mr. A. who had adopted the girl and would keep her in spite of advice to the contrary. This renewed "meddling" combined with the conflicts with Mr. A. over methods of training almost caused her to "just give up the whole thing." Mrs. A. was sure the problems would have cleared up without the visitor for two reasons: In the first place, the bonus money received could have straightened them out; in the second place, she had decided to leave Mr. A. and get herself a job.

The S. family exemplifies a case in which worker and client agreed on plans and the manner of effecting them.

Mrs. S. was confident that her problems were understood; the agency did much for her that she did not expect, such as training the children, getting their clothing, and bringing them to see her. It also made her feel secure because the social worker was "such a friend" that she did not know what she could have done without her. The worker made many trips to see her and found her rooms to live in. She came to see her after the agency had "finished

with them." The visitor did not leave anything undone, nor did she complicate any of her problems. She did not feel that her problems would have cleared up without the visitor.

The G. family is a case in which the plans of the client and worker were different, but through compromise the ultimate outcome was reached in a satisfactory manner.

Mrs. G. believed the visitor understood her problems thoroughly. She stated further that she had much confidence in worker's ability. . . . She believed that the worker did all she could for the family. She sent the girl to summer camp, arranged for the relief, and summer outings. . . . She stated the worker left nothing undone and had never complicated her problems. The worker "always made good." . . . Mrs. G. did not believe her problems would have cleared up without the visitor. She felt this despite of the instances in which the family refused to follow plans made by the worker. No issue was made of the refusals and eventually the matter cleared up.

The case of Mrs. Z. illustrated the client and case worker working in diametrically opposed ways.

Mrs. Z. felt that the workers understood well enough the obvious matter of what she wanted in regard to Mr. Z. but none of them understood anything else at all. She said that some people can know about your past and still be fair to you. The Family Agency visitors, however, could not. . . . Mrs. Z. spoke with bitterness of the lack of understanding that she had encountered at the hands of visitors. . . . She stated that the visitors simply did not have a human spark in them. . . . Mrs. Z. wondered how visitors could fail to recognize that an empty stomach and no clothing were a certain death to any amount of pride in any person. . . . Mrs. Z. also despised the fact that the social workers sent to her did not appreciate what ownership of things meant to people in distress. "Why couldn't they understand that a typewriter and an electric washing machine weren't just foolish expenses on the part of a person on relief" but "stand for the thing that keeps soul and body together sometimes?" She added "sometimes just a little understanding means the difference between keeping on and falling down and it can make relief seem like a real salary. No understanding can make it seem like a prison sentence."

Mrs. Z. said that she was prevented from explaining her problem because she "seemed to be talking in a foreign tongue to the visitors. If I talked too freely, my past was always thrown up to me—and I stopped trying to explain myself. All of the workers seemed to feel that with the life I had lived, I should be glad to have mere bread and water." In discussing what the visitor had done for her, Mrs. Z. recounted that the worker had "kept me on a starving basis, made unreasonable demands of me, and driven me crazy." (Mrs. Z. had a nervous breakdown during her contact with the agency, and laid the blame entirely on the unreasonable demands made of her to lower her level of living.) To this she added that the worker cut her off of relief when she found out that she had purchased a typewriter. Mrs. Z. said that "everything had been left undone—everything." She has had to carry on alone now under much greater mental handicaps. Mrs. Z. told her visitors as nearly as she could, "If they only would try to put themselves in other people's places they would do a lot more good." Mrs. Z. felt that "if the worker couldn't do anything about it, then she was on the wrong job. Anybody ought to know how to do what they are pretending to be trained for. Miss X (worker) said she was specially trained for it—but she was just in the wrong calling."

Mrs. Z.'s opinion as to the relative effect of the treatment experience upon her problem was interesting.

She believed that she could have done a better job of straightening out her marital affairs than the visitor did. She could "have run Mr. Z. away from home for that matter," and "certainly would have chosen a more convenient time to have done it."

The K. case demonstrates both compromise and a refusal to follow the worker's plans.

Mrs. K. felt that the workers understood the family situation. Mr. K. "supposed they did all right," but did not elaborate other than that their trouble was "money troubles," and that his plans were ignored entirely. He had asked several times to be transferred to the Public Bureau and was finally told not to mention it again. He could have had a WPA job a long time ago, and could have been earning almost twice as much as he is now. In this respect he felt that the Family Society did not treat him fairly.

Both Mr. and Mrs. K. were confident that they explained the situation and what it was that they

wanted, and the worker understood, too, but wanted to do things her way. As to what the workers had done for them, they recalled that they had given material assistance, and had written a letter to Mrs. K.'s mother which gave the mother a little more confidence in Mrs. K.'s moral rectitude.

The worker did not leave anything undone that the family would have had her do, other than arrange with the Gas and Light Company so that they could continue having service while paying off the back bill.

Mr. and Mrs. K. felt that their problem would have cleared up without the assistance of Family Society as it was only a job that was needed. Mr. K. added that they did need money until he got strong enough to go back to work. He believed that the Public Bureau could have done it.

In most of the cases studied what the client wished to be done was what actually was done about his problem though not especially in the manner he desired it. The exceptions came mainly with those families whose proffered plans exceeded the agency's limitations and functions, as in the A. and Z. families; or where the worker believed her plan more effective than those of the family as seen in the K. case.

#### THE CLIENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIAL WORK AND THE AGENCY AS RESULT OF THE EXPERIENCE

The following questions were included under this heading:

1. How many visitors did you have?
2. Did the fact that you had 1, 2, 3, etc. make any difference to you?
3. Would you have preferred only one? Why?
4. Was the visitor a person to whom you would bring your problems whether she was connected with an agency or not? Explain.
5. How many different agencies have you known?
6. Would you feel freer to go to any one particular agency? Why?
7. Would you go to this agency again under similar circumstances? Why or why not?
8. Would you send someone else to it? Why or why not?

One can hardly imagine an experience which does not in some way involve reac-

tions and influence attitudes. Assistance always involves emotional responses. The attitudes disclosed in this study toward the experience seemed to be directly related to the treatment plan.

It is pertinent, however, to observe that the attitudes tended to be toward the visitor rather than toward the agency, and even in cases of severest conflict with the agency's representative the ex-client would return, if assured that he could have a more understanding person as a visitor.

Mrs. A. had two visitors, but would have preferred one,—the last one that worked with them. . . . Both of the visitors were persons to her. The first one had just about driven her crazy with her inexperience. "In the first place the girl didn't give me a chance to breathe without looking her in the face. Why I couldn't turn around for her. She didn't do a living thing, but visit, visit, visit. Really, she made me nervous. I finally asked her if she wasn't new at the job." The second worker "was experienced and made herself one of the family. She would come and sit for hours talking of nothing in particular. I'd take up my budgeting with her. I talked about my trouble with my husband with her."

Mrs. A. said that she had known only the Family Society, although the Social Service Exchange gave three other registrations. She would feel freer to go to the Family Society because we knew the types of services offered. She would gladly return to the Family Society again should the occasion arise. . . . She would send someone else if they had the same need of its services.

Mrs. A. felt this way in spite of the altercation which she had with the last visitor, on account of which the contact was broken off.

Mrs. S. had only one visitor. She felt implicit faith in the worker. . . . and she wished she could talk to her again because she would know how to solve her present problems which the Public Welfare visitor could not do. . . . Mrs. S. had gotten help from the Public Welfare both prior and subsequent to receiving the Children Agency's assistance.

To the question "Would you go to this agency again under similar circumstances?" she replied, "Indeed I would, and right away too." They understood her and were so "fair and responsible." She would send anybody there who had children in need, but she wished that they handled adults also.

This was a case in which complete interpretation of the agency's functions and limitations had been given and satisfactory plans had been made and carried out with the family's full cooperation.

The Z. case presents quite a different set of reactions and feelings on the part of the main client involved.

Mrs. Z. remembered only two visitors, though there were in actuality eight who handled her case at one time or another during their contact. The number made no difference to her, and she would not have preferred any particular one.

She would not take any of her problems to either of the visitors whom she had known under any circumstances and regretted such contacts as had transpired, since the workers simply could not put themselves in her place at any time.

Mrs. Z. remembered only three agencies,—the one in Duluth, the Family Society, and the Public Department. She did not consider the Municipal Hospital and the Nurses Society as agencies.

Mrs. Z. had gotten better treatment from the Public Bureau in that they gave her what she requested and went no further. They have never in any way "meddled" or tried to humiliate her. She would feel much freer to go there for that reason.

Mrs. Z. would not come to Family Society again unless she was sure the worker assigned to her was much more human and understanding than was the case during her previous experience.

She would not send anyone else there for the same reason that she would not go herself.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Most of the ex-clients studied brought with them some attitudes toward the agency that might be designated as friendly or hostile. Only a few had no preconceived attitudes. However, while it was of utmost importance in treatment plans for the worker to be aware of the attitudes of the client toward the agency and the profession, the attitudes in themselves did not determine the outcome of the treatment. Successes were reported on cases of favorable and hostile attitudes, along with failures on both types. The results of the relationship appeared to be

dependent mainly upon the worker and how she handled the job of interpretation of the agency. Where the agency's function was explained carefully there tended to be better rapport and results in spite of the agency's limitations.

These ex-clients defined their problems in terms of the reason for reference. They had their solutions, broad and vague though they were, and were sure that the agency could help them carry them through. The women tended to envision themselves as social workers. All seemed to feel that their original requests to the agency were warranted and that, had they been the social workers, they would have granted them.

Client situations pertaining to the making and execution of case work plans tended to fall into three classes: (a) cases in which the client's and the worker's plans and methods of effecting them coincided; (b) cases in which the client's and the worker's plans and methods of effecting them were different, but were made to converge through compromise of one or both; (c) cases in which the client and the worker had divergent plans and methods upon which no agreement was reached during the agency contact.

Most of the cases were of mixed type, and usually the client's plan for solution tended to be carried out but in a way which had been dictated by the worker.

Where the solution of the problems lay outside the agency's functions and limitations, unless an effective job of interpretation had been done, the case was doomed for failure. Difficulty arose invariably in those instances in which the case worker applied treatment to problems either not recognized by the family or with which they did not wish to have assistance.

These clients were apt to think of the case treatment experience in terms of the worker rather than of the agency. The

personality of the worker seemed to have been more important than her method of procedure. Regardless of the type of relationship maintained during the contact with the agency, all of the clients would

return again under similar circumstances. Those clients whose experience had not been pleasant would do so only after they had been assured that they would have a worker who was understanding.

### A NOTE ON POPULATION RECORDS AND REPORTING IN WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

PAUL B. FOREMAN

*University of Mississippi*

DESPITE a noticeable trend since the turn of the century in a movement toward centralized administration, state-maintained welfare institutions in Oregon have developed little uniformity in the creation of standardized population records or in the issuance of systematic population reports. Lack of available information of this kind has repeatedly been one major deficiency in outlining their administrative policies. Realizing this, the Oregon State Planning Board in June 1936 authorized a study of population records and reporting in these institutions.<sup>1</sup> As soon as this study was undertaken, it became immediately evident that haphazard growth rather than planning had encouraged the development of existing record systems. One institution possessed a detailed entrance registry, but for a period of forty years' operation had no record whatsoever of releases. Another kept no ward registration other than temporary application for admittance blanks. Still another, having passed a

period of record reorganization some twenty years ago, had since that time kept two duplicating systems in operation. The only institution to adopt The National Committee for Mental Hygiene's record forms kept them only during a biennial intercensal period. Having completed a census, the cards were destroyed.

As a product of the experience in reviewing the records of these eleven institutions,<sup>2</sup> it was possible to arrive at certain generalizations concerning population forms which might be valuable wherever similar questions might be raised.

The general purposes of record systems among these various institutions are everywhere the same. First, they must be convenient and suitable for accurate and ready reporting, either individually for case identification or collectively in periodic census counts. Second, they must yield accurate accounting for the determination of per capita costs and the preparation of valid budget estimates. Third, they must give a review of significant case data including institutional contacts and services. And, experience in Oregon demands another and almost over-obvious

<sup>1</sup> See Paul B. Foreman, "A Guide Manual for the Preparation of Statistical Reports on Population for Use in State-Maintained Welfare Institutions in Oregon" Salem: Oregon State Planning Board, 1936. On a state basis this manual was visualized as an attempt to meet such situations in institutional records as presented in *The Report on Criminal Statistics*, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement; Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> The institutions: two tuberculosis sanatoria, two state hospitals for the insane, a school for the blind, a blind trades school, a school for the deaf, a home for the mentally deficient, a penitentiary, a training school for delinquent boys, and an industrial school for delinquent girls.

assertion that if records are to be other than just the meringue on institutional procedure, the system must be integrated. While content rather than form is the genuine test of record adequacy—and content is largely determined by the particular services of a given institution, a valid organization which meets the above requirements can be projected if the system is divided into three well-defined principal units: an entrance and dismissal ledger, a central master-file index of case cards, and case folios. Supplementary records, required by special services, may be added in separate files (indexed with the master-file), or they may be kept with the case folios.

Most institutions keep some form of entrance and dismissal ledgers, but commonly one finds these impressive volumes filled with information which needlessly repeats case folio data. The increasing popularity of central record cards, due principally to the ease with which they may be sorted for referencing and reporting, makes it no longer advisable to keep detailed population data in the old-style ledgers. Ledgers remain, however, the logical place for permanent recording of day-to-day tabulations of movement of population, for reference as of any given date or period to total resident population, and if the services of the institution so provide, to non-resident ward or paroled population totals. This information is needed solely for the determination of per capita costs and for budget estimates. These ledgers should allow space for case number, case name, total inmate (student, ward, patient) number, total non-resident unparoled (temporary leave, escape, transfer, etc.) number, total paroled inmate (student, ward, patient) number (if paroles or other conditional releases are used), and subclassified according to all possible movement of population entries

in progressive order, columns for date entries concerning each possible type of entrance and dismissal. This procedure will allow an absolutely accurate accounting of inmate days and a completely classified record of all entrances and dismissals.

Master-file index systems have been popularized by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene through its reporting guides for uses in hospitals for mental diseases and institutions for mental defectives.<sup>3</sup> The contribution made by this organization through the perfecting of standard classifications of mental abnormalities and deficiencies has been unquestionable, but it is exceedingly unfortunate that their statisticians continue to ignore standard U. S. Bureau of the Census detail and precedent in preparing the supplementary content of their recommended filing cards, and it is equally unfortunate that they fail to consider the valuable suggestions in recording, filing, and tabulating population record data developed by The Association of Community Chests and Councils.<sup>4</sup>

These indexes should contain all information necessary for periodic institutional reporting in accordance with U. S. Bureau of the Census precedent, as well as identification data, not reported in census counts, but necessary for quick contact references. Particularly important in this latter regard would be, as Community Chest forms provide, a name, date of birth,

<sup>3</sup> See National Committee for Mental Hygiene, *Statistical Manual for the Use of Hospitals for Mental Diseases*, New York, 1936 and *Statistical Manual for the Use of Institutions for Mental Defectives*, New York, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the forms in the Mental Hygiene Manuals with data registry in the census publication, *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories in the United States*, 1933. For Community Chest records see the Social Service Exchange Committee, *The Social Service Exchange*, New York: Association of Community Chests and Councils, 1929.

and dated "last known address" key for all known members of the immediate family. This need would be absolutely essential if, following Minnesota's leadership in establishing centralized controls for inter-institutional references, a state would develop a department of public welfare interested in family checks.<sup>5</sup>

The filing of these cards is extremely important. Where no post-detentional or post-attendance authority is held by the institution, they should be filed in three series: first, admissions during the census period; second, discharges during the census period; and third, discharges previous to the present census period. The admission file should be subclassified progressively by all entrance classifications appearing in the movement of population ledger; each subsection being arranged alphabetically. The "discharge during the census period" section should be subclassified by all discharge items appearing in the movement of population ledger (including deaths and all other final discharges during the census period), each subsection being arranged alphabetically. The "discharges of previous census periods" should be arranged in one alphabetical series.

Where post-detentional or post-attendance authority is maintained, admissions and discharges from the institution during the official census period should be filed separately as were entrances and dismissals during the census period in the case where no post-detentional authority is maintained. The third section in this series, needed for reporting on the movement of

<sup>5</sup> Cards used in preparing an index of Oregon's institutional inmates and wards integrated these three sources. For illustrations see P. B. Foreman, *op. cit.* This guide manual, as is relative to the following paragraphs of this paper, outlined a tabular series for population reports in which the above census publication was used as a primary guide.

non-institutional wards, would include cards for non-resident wards, including paroled and non-paroled cases, released provisionally from the institution before the present official census period. These cards should be subclassified by all related entrance and dismissal items (including deaths and all other final release items) and arranged alphabetically. The fourth and last section in the card index would be a single alphabetical file of final releases of all previous census periods.

So filed, these cards would serve as a convenient master control for all supplementary population records such as finger print indices (filed by classification) and general histories, detailed medical histories, educational records, pre-parole progress sheets, etc., which should be filed by serial case number. Both The National Committee for Mental Hygiene and The Association of Community Chests and Councils have recommended 4" by 6" cards as probably the most convenient size. Experience with filing cards in Oregon indicated that slightly larger cards might in the long run be more appropriate. There are two possible methods of preparation of these cards. The first (as recommended by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene) calls for filing, as above, and for the insertion of duplicates in different color with much the same detail in the file for every change in status made by a case. When a case is admitted, a card is completed and filed appropriately under admissions. Upon release, a release card, having many of the basic data of the first with appropriate special addenda, is completed and filed under the appropriate release item. Readmissions, deaths, escapes, etc. call for special schedule inserts. This method is suitable for manual sorting and reporting at census intervals, especially where the total schedule volume is high. Where the volume of total cases to

be reported is low (for example, below 100 schedules) or where mechanical (Hollerith "punch card") reporting is possible, the system is particularly wasteful.

For these stated conditions a detailed reference card and simple cross-reference cards (preferably of different colors) would be more economical. Under this plan a detailed reference card would be filed for each admission. If the case were later changed in status within a legal reporting period, for example by parole, the permanent card would receive record of the change and be filed under paroles. The permanent record card should always be placed in position corresponding to the actual status of a case. A simple cross-reference card giving institution number case name, and type and date of population movement (also fingerprint index codes where they exist) would be inserted in the place from which the permanent card had been lifted. At every successive move of the case, additional cross-reference cards of this nature, rather than of the detailed Mental Hygiene variety, would be inserted in the file. In both card systems it is important that every move of the population be entered on cross-reference cards—even when the move in filing is regressive or duplicate cards for the same case come to be filed together. Only through such procedure may accurate census reports be achieved.

At a census-taking interval, a tally of all cards within any file section would give the reporting group. Care should be taken to include all duplicates for the same case within any given reporting series as plural entries so that the volume of case movement may be correctly tabulated. After the census tally has been completed, cross-reference cards should be destroyed and all final releases for the particular census period filed with previous final releases. Either card system would

serve as a central control source for all other records and would be the only necessary source to be examined for census reporting.

General history folios are the repositories of all detailed case information developed and used by an institution, though due to differences in institutional services actual content may vary widely. They usually contain social or medical history blanks, commitment and release forms, and correspondence. Where blanks are suitable for filing, medical, dental, educational, pre-parole progress, and disciplinary forms are sometimes filed separately, usually by number. Especially is this true in active cases, where convenience may demand separate files. Where this is true, the outstanding facts of auxiliary records should for coordination be listed on the face sheet in the general history file.

Every institution is faced with perplexing problems concerning the gathering of case record data. In Oregon the statement is often heard in institutions that local agencies are unprepared for or uncooperative in supplying background social history information on economic stability, address identification, family pattern and relationships, or whatever information might be locally available. This is partially due to limited record systems in local agencies and partially due to the common lack of knowledge on the part of institutional workers concerning the interpretation of such data in terms of their services. Few, if any of these institutions are aware of the value of the Portland Community Chest Confidential Exchange or sample the enormous, if inchoate, coverage of case data collected these last few years in the files of local emergency relief and state unemployment offices. If coordinated with institutional administration, these services could, as far as case

coverage appears, give cooperation in reporting background information.

It is interesting that while there has been no effort made to integrate institutional records among Oregon welfare institutions, an attempt has been made to integrate their population reports. These have been fairly standard since *The Second Biennial Report of the Oregon State Board of Control* appeared in 1916. Earlier institutional reports on population were in no way uniform and had value only as, but faintly veiled and perhaps competitive, bids for legislative appropriation. Moreover, these earlier reports paid little attention to summary statistical forms. At the present time only one Oregon institution has assumed to add more detailed reports to those sponsored by the Board of Control. This institution, the larger state hospital for the insane, now presents at the end of each legal biennium the board drafts in series, followed by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene's recommendations in series, though this practice demands much duplication. Though the forms used in census reporting by Oregon institutions are roughly comparable, a close inspection discloses that they are interpreted so differently among the various institutions that their subject matter is neither reliable nor comparable. For

example, some institutions report only on first admissions; others, all admissions. One institution counts all escapes and temporary leaves as present at the end of a legal biennial census period, carries this total forward to begin the next biennium, and then adds to this figure as readmissions all temporary leaves and escapes returned to the institution. Nevertheless, the Board of Control regularly presents to the legislature reports based on a compilation of these unit institutional tables.

With the exception of the larger state hospital, no effort has been made to approximate federal census reporting. Only the two hospitals for the insane and the two hospitals for the tubercular have gone so far as to adopt standard classifications typifying their residents. No data of significance on recidivism appears; no rates in terms of the general state population are calculated; cross-classification in tabular construction is a mystery and seldom attempted, but each institution faithfully records for each biennium its "average" daily population, "average" daily cost, and "average" daily and monthly cost since the institution was established. Economists interested in business cycles would marvel at the constancy of reported costs!

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

At the recent meeting of the American Sociological Society at Atlantic City, the rural sociologists organized the Rural Sociological Society of America, with a provisional constitution. This is an autonomous organization, but, if proposed amendments to the constitution of the American Sociological Society are passed, it will form a section of that organization. The officers elected are: President, Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University; vice-president, John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin; secretary-treasurer, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University. Other members of the Executive Committee are Carl C. Taylor, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and C. E. Lively, Ohio State University. The new society will continue the publication of *Rural Sociology*, now in its third year, with the support of Louisiana State University.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

## RURAL COMMUNITY PATTERNS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION\*

OLAF F. LARSON

*Colorado State College*

**A**SURVEY of seven representative Minnesota town-country communities made in the fall of 1934 revealed variation from community to community in the type of formally organized social activities present, in the total volume of participation in organized activities by community members, in the proportion of the total participation accounted for by each type of activity, and in the proportion of the population actively participating in the various fields of organized group endeavor. There was sufficient contrast from place to place in each of the above aspects to create a picture of patterns of social participation peculiar to each community.

Conclusions are based upon a survey by interview of a random sample of 1350 out-of-school persons 15 years of age and over, 100 from each village center in all cases but one where half as many were secured, and 100 from the open country service area of each village. Six of the village centers had between 1000 and 1500 population, which was the modal size of Minnesota incorporated places, and were classed as minor "independent" farmers' trading

\* The research project on which this report is based was conducted under the general supervision of the late Dr. R. W. Murchie, University of Minnesota.

centers; the seventh village had a population of 400 and was illustrative of a small "elementary" trading center.<sup>1</sup>

The average monthly attendance was secured for participation in formally organized group activities, following with slight deviation the classification of major types used by Brunner and Kolb, namely: athletic, civic, educational, fraternal, musical, patriotic, social, socio-economic, socio-religious, and youth serving.<sup>2</sup> "Civic" activity had to be omitted from the final tabulations because of lack of such formal group organization in the communities studied; "socio-religious" was used to indicate all forms of activity associated with institutionalized religion, including church and Sunday school attendance. No tabulations were made of a type of activity for an individual if attendances averaged less than once a month during the year.

The first obvious contrast was in the major types of activities present within the communities; only one had any civic

<sup>1</sup> The classification of trade centers follows that given by C. C. Zimmerman in "Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-29," Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 269.

<sup>2</sup> Brunner, Edmund de S. and Kolb, J. H. *Rural Social Trends*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933; p. 242.

organizations and these were so inconsequential in terms of membership and attendance that this activity-type was entirely omitted from the final list; two communities had no youth-serving groups and one had no group to be included in the social category.

The second contrast was in the volume of participation in the various activities. The total average number of attendances per month in all forms of activity ranged from 824 to 1216 as Table I shows, al-

organized social contacts in every community, its importance ranged from 64.8 per cent to 74.0 per cent of total participation. The proportion of the total attendance accounted for by the other types of activity varied greatly from place to place (Table I).

In one community, athletics may occupy a large part of the total time spent in organized group life; in another, musical or fraternal or educational activities loom important, ranking next to socio-religious.

TABLE I. PROPORTION OF AVERAGE TOTAL ATTENDANCE PER MONTH BY SAMPLE POPULATION ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH ACTIVITY, BY COMMUNITIES

| TYPE OF ACTIVITY  | TOTAL ALL COMMUNITIES | COMMUNITY |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|---|-----------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|   |                       | A         | B     | C     | D     | E     | F     | G     |
| Average Total Attendance per Month, All Activities..... | 6,286                 | 915       | 824   | 905   | 856   | 783   | 1,216 | 920*  |
| Total Per Cent.....                                     | 100.0                 | 100.0     | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Socio-religious.....                                    | 70.9                  | 74.0      | 69.0  | 73.1  | 67.2  | 71.3  | 74.0  | 64.8  |
| Athletic.....   | 7.3                   | 6.2       | 4.1   | 4.5   | 10.5  | 6.6   | 8.4   | 10.8  |
| Musical.....  | 6.4                   | 5.3       | 9.7   | 3.7   | 5.8   | 3.8   | 6.1   | 10.8  |
| Fraternal.....  | 5.7                   | 5.6       | 6.6   | 8.0   | 5.4   | 6.9   | 5.0   | 2.7   |
| Educational.....  | 3.0                   | 3.4       | 6.4   | 2.5   | 1.6   | 0.1   | 1.6   | 6.2   |
| Socio-economic.....                                     | 2.5                   | 1.9       | 0.5   | 3.0   | 3.5   | 6.4   | 1.6   | 2.0   |
| Social.....   | 1.8                   | 0.9       | 1.8   | 1.2   | 3.4   | 2.2   | 2.5   | **    |
| Patriotic.....  | 1.5                   | 1.5       | 1.9   | 1.6   | 1.9   | 1.5   | 0.8   | 1.9   |
| Youth-serving.....                                      | 0.9                   | 1.2       | **    | 2.4   | 0.7   | 1.2   | **    | 0.8   |

\* Adjusted to same size sample as other communities.

\*\* No activity.

though the sample was 200 persons in each case. These data, of course, indicate only organized activity and cannot necessarily be taken as an index of the total volume of all social contacts within each community. The informal and spontaneous contacts occurring during exchange of work, trips to town, and "neighboring" were not measured by this survey.

The third contrast was in the proportion of the total attendance of community members which was allotted to each major activity-type. While socio-religious participation occupied the dominant place in

The comparative ranking of each of the nine major categories in each community can be noted in Table I. Athletic, musical, and fraternal activities were the most important types, following socio-religious, but there was considerable variation in the relative importance of even these types of endeavor.

The fourth major variation was in the proportion of the sample population attending each major type of activity. Although the religious organizations drew a larger proportion of attendants than any other type, their relative importance was

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not uniform from place to place, the range of the population attending being from 63.5 to 92 per cent. There was even more community-to-community contrast in the proportion of the people participating in the various activities than there was in the distribution of the total attendance

munity in the relative importance of each activity as judged by the proportion of the sample population attending an average of at least once a month during the year is emphasized by Table III, which ranks the activities according to the proportion of the population who were

TABLE II. PROPORTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION PARTICIPATING IN EACH ACTIVITY, BY COMMUNITIES

| TYPE OF ACTIVITY | TOTAL ALL COMMUNITIES | COMMUNITY |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                  |                       | A         | B    | C    | D    | E    | F    | G    |
| Socio-religious  | 79.3                  | 84.5      | 79.0 | 78.0 | 63.5 | 75.0 | 92.0 | 84.0 |
| Fraternal        | 13.9                  | 12.5      | 14.5 | 17.5 | 15.0 | 13.0 | 15.0 | 8.7  |
| Educational      | 10.5                  | 14.5      | 16.0 | 4.5  | 2.0  | 0.5  | 9.5  | 32.0 |
| Socio-economic   | 8.9                   | 7.0       | 2.0  | 6.0  | 15.0 | 17.5 | 6.5  | 8.0  |
| Athletic         | 8.8                   | 8.0       | 4.0  | 5.0  | 11.5 | 7.5  | 12.5 | 14.7 |
| Musical          | 7.5                   | 6.5       | 10.0 | 4.5  | 5.5  | 5.0  | 9.0  | 13.3 |
| Patriotic        | 6.3                   | 7.0       | 7.0  | 5.0  | 7.5  | 5.0  | 5.0  | 8.0  |
| Social           | 3.8                   | 3.5       | 3.5  | 2.0  | 6.5  | 4.0  | 6.0  | *    |
| Youth-serving    | 1.9                   | 3.0       | *    | 5.0  | 1.0  | 2.5  | *    | 1.3  |

\* No activity.

TABLE III. RANKING OF ACTIVITIES IN ORDER OF PROPORTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION PARTICIPATING IN EACH, BY COMMUNITIES

| TYPE OF ACTIVITY | TOTAL ALL COMMUNITIES | COMMUNITY |    |     |    |     |     |     |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
|                  |                       | A         | B  | C   | D  | E   | F   | G   |
| Socio-religious  | 1                     | 1         | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| Fraternal        | 2                     | 3         | 3  | 3   | 2  | 2   | 2.5 | 3   |
| Educational      | 3                     | 2         | 2  | 9   | 4  | 6*  | 8   | 2   |
| Socio-economic   | 4                     | 5.5       | 8  | 2   | 6  | 3   | 2.5 | 6.5 |
| Athletic         | 5                     | 4         | 6  | 4   | 3  | 4.5 | 4   | 3   |
| Musical          | 6                     | 7         | 4  | 5.5 | 5  | 6*  | 7   | 4   |
| Patriotic        | 7                     | 5.5       | 5  | 5.5 | 8  | 4.5 | 5   | 6.5 |
| Social           | 8                     | 8         | 7  | 7   | 7  | 9   | 6   | **  |
| Youth-serving    | 9                     | 9         | ** | 8   | ** | 6*  | 9   | 8   |

\* Triple tie for sixth place.

\*\* No activity.

among the several types. The proportion of each community's sample population who were participants in educational group affairs, for example, varied from 0.5 per cent to 32.0 per cent; for athletic the range was from 4.0 to 14.7 per cent (Table II).

The contrast from community to com-

attendants. By this method, socio-religious still retains the dominant position. However when compared with Table I, fraternal, educational, and socio-economic activity advance in ranking, and athletic and musical drop back; the change is accounted for by the difference in frequency of meetings of the various types

of organizations, that is, athletic and musical groups meet more frequently than fraternal, educational, and socio-economic, and hence accounted for a larger share of total participation than is indicated by the proportion of the population who are participants.

The reasons for the existence of the described differences in community patterns is a matter for further investigation. It is suggested that variations may be associated with such factors as age and nativity of the population, distance from centers of group activities, type of roads, religion, presence or absence of physical facilities, quality and quantity of leadership, differences in outside promotion, nearness to large urban centers, conflict or cooperation within the community, and to the "conditioning" influence of formal organization in the past.

The significance of these rural community patterns of social participation is that a realization of such community differences is vital to the success of any program involving organized group activity, whether in process or to be inaugurated by outside promotion or indigenous leadership. The administrators of state and nation-wide programs of both emergency and permanent nature would do well to take full cognizance of the existence of such community differences if they would have all possible insurance for the success of their plans. The facts of this study imply the need for demanding an elastic and individualized community treatment rather than an iron-clad blanket application of procedures and policies as conceived by some centralized authority.

Certain other findings from the study may also be summarized here:

1. About one in six of the sample population did not attend any form of organized activity as frequently as an average of once a month.

2. A smaller proportion of farm people than villagers participated in each type of activity, and farm people had only 62 per cent as great a total volume of attendance as village people; however, the farm people of one community may have a better participation record than the village people of another community, depending upon the comparative patterns.

3. More males than females participated in athletic and socio-economic activities, while the reverse was found for educational, social, and socio-religious affairs.

4. Activities associated with institutionalized religion dominated organized participation in rural communities, accounting for 71 per cent of all attendances; such activity was more important for farm than village people, being 83 and 63 per cent, respectively of all contacts. This implies that the church is still a potent agency in rural society.

5. Younger people were more active participants than their elders; persons aged 15-34 had about 10 per cent more participation than "expected" while the groups 35 and over had less than "expected," with the difference steadily increasing until the group 65 and over had almost 15 per cent less attendances than would be assumed from their proportion in the sample population.

6. Each type of activity appeared to compel a more or less normal or regular frequency of attendance, which in turn may be a gauge of the relative influence of the activity on the participant's attitudes and behavior. People attended religious, athletic, and musical activities most frequently, averaging more than three times per month; youth-serving, fraternal, and social groups were intermediate, being attended between two and three times per month; educational, patriotic, and socio-economic groups were all attended an average of less than twice a month.

## THE ADJUSTMENTS OF MOUNTAIN FAMILIES IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT<sup>1</sup>

MORRIS G. CALDWELL

*University of Kentucky*

### METHODOLOGY

THIS paper is a report of a preliminary study of the social adjustments of mountain families who have migrated to an urban environment. An attempt is made to examine the hypothesis that mountain families, who have lived for a long period of time in an isolated rural environment under mountain customs, folkways, and mores, are unable to make satisfactory social adjustments in a complex urban environment. This study is entirely preliminary and exploratory in nature and serves merely as an introduction to future research in the complicated field of social adjustment.

The sample consists of 57 mountain families<sup>2</sup> from 26 mountain counties in eastern and southeastern Kentucky, who have moved to Lexington, Kentucky, a city of approximately 60,000 population located in the heart of the Bluegrass region. These families comprise all the active cases of mountain origin in the files of the Family Welfare Society of this city. An experimental group of 57 families of non-mountain origin, who formerly moved to Lexington from 21 counties in the Bluegrass region of central Kentucky, is compared with the original sample of mountain families. The experimental

group of cases is selected at random from the active files of this social agency, however, all cases of Negro families are excluded on account of radical differences from white families in culture and standard of living.

Two principal methods are employed in the determination of the nature and extent of adjustment or maladjustment of these families. First, the adjustments of the mountain families in an urban environment are compared with the adjustments of the Bluegrass families. Second, the present adjustments of the mountain families under the impact of an urban environment are compared with and checked against their previous adjustments in a mountain environment. Thus, it is possible by these methods to ascertain the differential in adjustment between a mountain and an urban environment and between mountain and non-mountain families. The residue in maladjustments resulting from these comparisons may be logically ascribed to the lasting effect of mountain customs, folkways and mores upon families who have migrated to an urban environment.

The principal results of this study are stated quantitatively in terms of the number of family maladjustments. Each maladjustment, such as domestic discord, divorce, unemployment of the father, employment of the mother outside the home, or the acceptance of relief and service from a welfare agency, is arbitrarily assigned a value of "1". Indices are constructed for each special type of maladjustment, for mountain families in both mountain and urban environments,

<sup>1</sup>This study was made possible through the courtesy of Miss Mary Buckingham, executive director, Family Welfare Society, Lexington, Kentucky.

<sup>2</sup>The statistical data are presented in the form of absolute numbers rather than percentage distributions. A sample should comprise at least 100 cases before percentages are calculated. Otherwise a single case may present a distorted view of its importance.

and Bluegrass families in an urban environment. The indices for mountain and Bluegrass families are readily compared because there is an equal number of cases (57) in each sample.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE FAMILY POPULATION

The mountain and Bluegrass families are highly comparable because of similarities in respect to composition of the population. The median size of family for the mountain sample is 4.2 persons and 3.9 persons for the Bluegrass sample. The median ages of the male and female heads

#### INDEX OF SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

The failure of mountain families to make satisfactory social adjustments is shown in Table II, which displays the following major types of social maladjustments: familial, economic, health, educational, religious, court experience, and institutional experience. The indices of social maladjustment appear as follows: 1,067 for mountain families in an urban environment, 354 for mountain families in a mountain environment, and 637 for Bluegrass families in an urban environment. Thus it appears that mountain families experienced over three times as many social maladjustments in the city as they did in their former home communities and over one and a half times as many as the experimental sample of Bluegrass families.

However, when the economic maladjustments are subtracted from the aggregate social maladjustments for each sample, the mountain families display approximately twice as many social maladjustments in an urban environment as the Bluegrass families. The high index of social maladjustment of mountain families in an urban environment may be due to the comparatively long period of years during which the parents lived under the influence of mountain customs, folkways and mores. The data show that the median number of years lived in mountain counties is 31.7 years for the husband and 25.0 years for the wife. The adjustments, which these mountain families formerly made in their home communities in the mountains, were probably satisfactory according to mountain standards. However, when these very same adjustments are made in Lexington, they are not satisfactory according to urban standards. For instance, an outside toilet, an outside water supply, feeding the garbage to the

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF MOUNTAIN AND BLUEGRASS FAMILIES

|  | MOUNTAIN FAMILIES | BLUEGRASS FAMILIES |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| Median size of family.....                   | 4.2               | 3.9                |
| Median age of male head of family.....       | 48.8              | 45.0               |
| Median age of female head of family.....     | 42.5              | 38.6               |
| Total number of children living at home..... | 148.0             | 154.0              |
| Median age of children living at home.....   | 11.1              | 12.1               |
| Marital status:                              |                   |                    |
| Married (number).....                        | 39.0              | 40.0               |
| Widowed.....                                 | 11.0              | 15.0               |
| Divorced.....                                | 7.0               | 2.0                |

of the mountain sample are 48.8 years and 42.5 years respectively, whereas, it is 45 years and 38.6 years respectively for the Bluegrass sample. In the mountain sample the median age of the 148 children living at home is 11.1 years, while in the Bluegrass sample it is 12.1 years. Only slight differences appear in the marital status of the two samples. If there are fundamental differences in the ability of the families of these two samples to make satisfactory social adjustments in an urban environment, these are not due to differences in composition of the population.

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TABLE II. A COMPARISON OF THE SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENTS OF MOUNTAIN AND BLUEGRASS FAMILIES

| MALADJUSTMENTS  | MOUNTAIN FAMILIES IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT | MOUNTAIN FAMILIES IN A MOUNTAIN ENVIRONMENT | BLUEGRASS FAMILIES IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT |
|---|---|---|--|
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>1,067</b>                              | <b>354</b>                                  | <b>637</b>                                 |
| <b>I. Familial</b>                                      | <b>81</b>                                 | <b>14</b>                                   | <b>34</b>                                  |
| 1. Domestic Discord                                     | 24  | 0   | 15   |
| 2. Separation-Desertion                                 | 39  | 0   | 10   |
| 3. Divorce  | 7   | 5   | 6  |
| 4. Large Family   | 8   | 9   | 3  |
| 5. Illegitimacy   | 3   | 0   | 0  |
| <b>II. Economic</b>                                     | <b>293</b>                                | <b>96</b>                                   | <b>249</b>                                 |
| 1. Inferior Occupation                                  | 25  | 19  | 26   |
| 2. Unemployment (male head)                             | 40  | 1   | 40   |
| 3. Employment Outside Home (mother)                     | 5   | 11  | 8  |
| 4. Employment Outside Home (children)                   | 14  | 3   | 12   |
| 5. Decrease in family income                            | 55  | 2   | 36   |
| 6. Non-ownership of Home                                | 42  | 42  | 42   |
| 7. Decrease in Monthly Rental                           | 21  | 14  | 16   |
| 8. Debts  | 35  | 3   | 18   |
| 9. Acceptance of Relief                                 | 56  | 1   | 51   |
| <b>III. Health</b>                                      | <b>273</b>                                | <b>11</b>                                   | <b>120</b>                                 |
| 1. Illness  | 18  | 0   | 5  |
| 2. Physical Disease                                     | 50  | 4   | 19   |
| 3. Physical Defect                                      | 19  | 1   | 11   |
| 4. Mental Disease                                       | 6   | 6   | 1  |
| 5. Lack Sanitary Facilities                             |   |   |  |
| (1) Toilet  | 49  | 0   | 20   |
| (2) Water Supply  | 47  | 0   | 20   |
| (3) Garbage Disposal                                    | 16  | 0   | 2  |
| (4) Sewage Disposal                                     | 18  | 0   | 11   |
| (5) No Bathtub  | 50  | 0   | 31   |
| <b>IV. Educational</b>                                  | <b>138</b>                                | <b>129</b>                                  | <b>83</b>                                  |
| 1. Parent Received Less Than 5th Grade Education        | 74  | 74  | 37   |
| 2. Parent Attended under 6 months per Year              | 55  | 55  | 36   |
| 3. Children under 16 Years Not Attending School         | 9   | 0   | 10   |
| <b>V. Religious</b>                                     | <b>168</b>                                | <b>101</b>                                  | <b>104</b>                                 |
| 1. Parents Non-Affiliated                               | 32  | 32  | 20   |
| 2. Decrease Attendance of Parents at Religious Services | 65  | 29  | 28   |
| 3. Parents not Supporting Church Financially            | 56  | 40  | 40   |
| 4. Non-attendance Children at Religious Services        | 15  | 0   | 16   |
| <b>VI. Court Experience</b>                             | <b>59</b>                                 | <b>3</b>                                    | <b>30</b>                                  |
| 1. Drunkenness  | 19  | 1   | 8  |
| 2. Stealing   | 6   | 0   | 5  |
| 3. Held as Witness                                      | 6   | 0   | 0  |
| 4. Murder   | 7   | 1   | 2  |
| 5. Forgery  | 1   | 0   | 3  |
| 6. Robbery  | 1   | 0   | 3  |

TABLE II.—*Concluded*

| MALADJUSTMENTS                            | MOUNTAIN FAMILIES IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT | MOUNTAIN FAMILIES IN A MOUNTAIN ENVIRONMENT | BLUEGRASS FAMILIES IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT |
|---|---|---|--|
| <b>VI. Court Experience—Concluded</b>     |   |   |  |
| 7. Assault.....                           | 1   | 0   | 0  |
| 8. Breach of Peace.....                   | 8   | 0   | 2  |
| 9. Cruelty.....                           | 5   | 0   | 2  |
| 10. Kidnapping.....                       | 1   | 0   | 0  |
| 11. Non-support.....                      | 1   | 0   | 5  |
| 12. Miscellaneous.....                    | 3   | 1   | 0  |
| <b>VII. Institutional Experience.....</b> |   |   |  |
| 1. Health.....                            | 55  | 0   | 17   |
| 2. Mental.....                            | 8   | 0   | 3  |
| 3. Penal-Correctional.....                | 3   | 0   | 2  |
| 4. Juvenile Delinquent.....               | 34  | 0   | 9  |
| 5. Dependent Children.....                | 6   | 0   | 0  |
| 6. Aged.....                              | 3   | 0   | 3  |
|   | 1   | 0   | 0  |

hogs, dumping the sewage in the garden, and bathing in a washtub may be satisfactory social adjustments in a mountain area; however, they are highly unsatisfactory when performed in an urban area. Two trends in the adjustment of mountain families are apparent: (1) certain social adjustments, which are satisfactory according to mountain standards, prove to be unsatisfactory in a complex urban environment; and (2) certain types of adjustment such as educational or religious carry over from the mountain to the urban environment almost intact.

#### TYPES AND PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

The data reveal certain types and patterns of social maladjustment for mountain families in an urban environment. One of the most important of these patterns is that of familial maladjustment, which registers an index of 81. The principal elements in this pattern are domestic discord, separation, desertion, divorce, a large family, and illegitimacy. Approximately one-half (39) of these maladjustments are for separation-desertion and one-third (24)

are for domestic discord. The main causes of domestic discord are drunkenness, non-support, cruelty, and infidelity. These elements appear to be integrated into a pattern of familial maladjustment which has developed since these families have migrated to Lexington. Perhaps the strain and stress of modern living conditions in an urban environment have caused the disorganization of a type of family adapted for a simple mountain existence.

The distribution of economic maladjustments shows indices of 293 for mountain families in an urban environment, 96 for mountain families in a mountain environment, and 249 for Bluegrass families in an urban environment. The fact that the economic maladjustments of mountain families in an urban environment are approximately three times greater than in a mountain environment, is not surprising when one considers that the last six years of urban residence for these families coincides with the recent economic depression with its accompanying unemployment, decrease in family income, and federal relief. Furthermore, there are no manufacturing industries located in Lexington.

Consequently, the absence of industrial employment coupled with the recent economic depression are primary factors in the production of economic maladjustment of mountain families. Also, the mountain families in their former home communities pursued a type of subsistence farming which at least furnished them with the bare necessities of life, thus assisting them to make economic adjustments satisfactory for a mountain area. The number of economic maladjustments for mountain and Bluegrass families are approximately the same. This is due to the fact that economic depression in an urban environment affects both of these types of families in much the same manner, namely, acceptance of an inferior occupation or unemployment of the male head of the family, decrease in family income, failure of the opportunity to acquire ownership of a home, decrease in rental resulting in inferior living quarters, the multiplication of debts and the acceptance of relief from a welfare agency. The first reaction of mountain families to the exigencies and emergencies of an economic depression is the borrowing of money to meet their obligations. These debts consist of overdue rent, grocery bills, other store bills, and other personal debts. These debts accumulate until a debt pattern of economic behavior is formed.

The data on health indicate serious health maladjustments which have developed since these mountain families migrated to Lexington. The index of health maladjustment is 273 or an average of 4.8 health maladjustments for each family. These families experienced approximately 25 times as many maladjustments as they did in a mountain environment and over twice as many as Bluegrass families in an urban environment. The principal diseases which afflict mountain families are tuberculosis, cancer, heart

trouble, rheumatism, ulcers of the stomach, syphilis, gonorrhea, kidney trouble, paralysis, epilepsy and mental disease. Health maladjustments are further indicated by unsanitary facilities such as an outside toilet, outside source of water supply, garbage and sewage disposal in the backyard, and lack of bathing facilities. The foregoing physical and mental diseases, physical defects and lack of sanitary facilities comprise a pattern of health maladjustment. These families may have possessed some of these health maladjustments before coming to Lexington; however, no record of any pattern appears until after their arrival.

A comparison of the indices of educational maladjustment show 138 for mountain families in an urban environment, 129 in a mountain environment, and 83 for Bluegrass families in an urban environment. It is evident from these data that a pattern of educational maladjustment is carried over from the mountain environment to the urban environment with very little change. There are two principal elements in this pattern: (1) the parent received less than a fifth grade education; and (2) the parent attended school less than six months per year. Educational maladjustments foster ignorance and perpetuate superstition, thus initiating an endless chain of vicious influences which affect all the other types of social maladjustments. For instance, educational maladjustments may produce domestic discord or divorce, may cause the male head of the family to accept an inferior occupation or become unemployed and may menace the health of the family by ignorance of sanitation.

These mountain families also appear to be maladjusted from a religious standpoint as evidenced by an index of 168 in comparison with 101 for their previous mountain experience and 104 for Bluegrass

families in an urban environment. The principal phases of the pattern of religious maladjustment are non-affiliation of parents, decreased attendance of parents at religious services, failure of parents to support the church financially, and the non-attendance of children at religious services. The data seem to indicate that nearly two-thirds of religious maladjustments of mountain families are carried over from a previous mountain experience.

The indices of court experience and institutional experience for mountain families in an urban environment are 59 and 55 respectively. Bluegrass families display only one-half as many court experiences and one-third as many institutional experiences as mountain families. The data show a lack of court and institutional experiences for mountain families in a mountain environment. The apparent absence of these experiences may be readily explained, for such offenses as drunkenness, stealing, robbery, assault, breach of the peace, cruelty, and non-support for the most part pass unnoticed in a mountain area, whereas these same offenses are regarded as serious crimes and subject to the jurisdiction of the courts in an urban environment. There are no institutional experiences for mountain families in a mountain environment because there are few penal, correctional or health institutions located in these mountain areas. It is evident from the foregoing factual data that the behavior of mountain families in an urban environment is directly influenced by definite patterns of anti-social behavior which results in court and institutional experiences.

#### SUMMARY

The mountain families are socially maladjusted in the city of Lexington according to all the various bases, criteria, indices, and methods of comparison employed in

Table II. This appears to be true when the social maladjustments of these mountain families are compared with their previous mountain experience and with the social maladjustments of Bluegrass families in an urban environment. The mountain families in an urban environment register 18.7 maladjustments per family, mountain families in a mountain environment 6.2 maladjustments, and

TABLE III. A COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF MOUNTAIN AND BLUEGRASS FAMILIES IN MOUNTAIN COUNTIES, NON-MOUNTAIN COUNTIES, AND AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT

|   | MOUNTAIN |        | BLUEGRASS |        |
|---|----------|--------|-----------|--------|
|   | Mean     | Median | Mean      | Median |
| 1. Years parents lived in mountain counties |          |        |           |        |
| Husband.....                                | 32.3     | 31.7   |           |        |
| Wife.....                                   | 28.3     | 25.0   |           |        |
| 2. Years parents lived in other counties*   |          |        |           |        |
| Husband.....                                | 9.0      | 7.5    | 8.9       | 10.0   |
| Wife.....                                   | 9.3      | 7.9    | 11.2      | 10.0   |
| 3. Years parents lived in Lexington         |          |        |           |        |
| Husband.....                                | 17.9     | 14.6   | 25.9      | 21.2   |
| Wife.....                                   | 15.6     | 13.1   | 22.2      | 17.5   |

\* Mountain families: includes years lived in non-mountain counties before coming to Lexington.

Bluegrass families: includes years lived in other counties before coming to Lexington except county of birth.

Bluegrass families in an urban environment 11.2 maladjustments per family. Also, the indices of maladjustment for each of the major types of social maladjustment, such as familial, economic, health, educational, religious, and court and institutional experience, are considerably larger for the mountain families in an urban environment than for the other two bases of comparison.

The reason for the preponderance of social maladjustments of mountain families is found in the comparatively long period of time the parents of these families lived in mountain counties under the influence of mountain customs, folkways and mores before they started on their journey of migration to an urban environment. Data presented in an accompanying table show that the median number of years lived in a mountain country is 31.7 years for the husband and 25.0 years for the wife. These data are especially significant since these are the early years of life when personality traits are formed and life patterns acquired. After leaving their home communities, approximately one-half (30) of these mountain families lived in non-mountain counties before arriving in Lexington. The median number of years lived in these counties is 7.5 years for the husband and 7.9 years for the wife. The Bluegrass families lived in other counties for a longer period of time before migrating to Lexington. The median number of years lived in these counties is 10 years for both husband and wife. Furthermore, the data reveal that the median number of years lived in Lexington for mountain

families is 14.6 years for the husband and 13.1 years for the wife, while for Bluegrass families it is 21.2 years for the husband and 17.5 years for the wife. It is obvious that the Bluegrass families have lived in an urban environment for a longer period of time than the mountain families and thus are probably better able to make satisfactory social adjustments. However, it would appear that the mountain families have had a sufficient trial period in which to adjust themselves to an urban environment, since the median number of years lived in Lexington is between 13 and 14 years.

As far as this study is concerned, these mountain families appear to be unable to make satisfactory social adjustments in an urban environment, however, this conclusion and all other conclusions set forth in this paper are tentative in nature. The author has no desire on the basis of a single study to draw elaborate conclusions regarding the ability of all mountain families to adjust in an urban environment. Conclusions and recommendations must necessarily await the outcome of future research in the interesting but complicated field of social adjustment.

#### PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Professor Samuel Haig Jameson, retiring Secretary-Treasurer and newly elected President of the Pacific Sociological Society, has provided the material for the following notes of the ninth annual meeting of the Society, held at Pomona College, Claremont, California, December 28-30, 1937. Dr. George B. Mangold, then president, had prepared a varied program with special appeal to applied sociology. A tone of practical approach was prevalent.

Meeting jointly with the Pacific Coast Economic Association at the evening session of December 28th, Dr. Mangold gave his presidential address on "The Sociologist and the Public." He was followed by the vice-president of the Economic Association, Dr. M. N. Nelson of Oregon State College, who discussed "Economic Recovery, How Sound Is It?" Other sessions featured rural sociology, social research, social psychology, cultural sociology, social work and social change.

At the business meeting, the following officers were elected for 1938: President—Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon; First Vice-President, Northern Division—C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia; Vice-President, Central Division—Miss Bertha Monroe, San Francisco State College; Vice-President, Southern Division—Martin H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California; Secretary-Treasurer—Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington; Editor—Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California; new members of the Advisory Council to fill the vacancies created through the retirement of William Kirk, Pomona College, and Glen Hoover, Mills College—Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington, and Glen E. Carlson, University of Redlands.

The March issue of *Sociology and Social Research* will carry the Proceedings of the Society and will be sent free to all paid up members.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### THE PSYCHIC SIDE OF MARITAL MALADJUSTMENT

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

THE animal, in his attempt to satisfy sex hunger, encounters problems, as, for example, when the male bee wins the opportunity to fertilize the virgin queen by competitive flight and pays for his conquest by death. The sexual mating of animals, however, escapes the subtleties of human union because of the absence or meagerness of what in the life of men and women constitutes the psychic side of sex. This means that a narrow interpretation of human sex maladjustment, reducing the problems to mere structural adequacy or physical technique, so sidesteps the source of trouble as to be misleading and mischievous.

A quantity of marital maladjustments results from the extension of sex and its alliance with self-consciousness. These hazards of human mating are in large measure one expression of that expansion of brain and endocrine which Crile has so forcefully interpreted as both the human organism's equipment for civilization and its strain.<sup>1</sup>

This development which provides the higher evolution of men and women as compared with other animal life not only influences sex when this is extracted and taken by itself, but also incorporates the

functioning of sex, so that it becomes a substantial part of intellectual and emotional experience.

A recent persisting habit-impotency, formed through fear, would surely have disappeared if the contribution of the brain experience could have been eliminated and sex made merely the operation of the appropriate nerve centers of the spinal cord. A physical examination by a medical specialist had revealed no body explanation of the man's difficulty and he was given advice by the doctor designed to increase his patience and his reassurance. A thoroughgoing treatment would not only have needed to concentrate upon the psychic side of his sex life but would have required probing into his development as a personality and undoubtedly would have brought into the open a very complex and long-accumulated causation. It had happened that from a previous successful sex experience, while studying at a European university, he knew that he possessed, at least at that time, normal potency. To give a modern slant to a Shakespearean exclamation such cases illustrate, "If men could be contented to be what they are, there would be no fear in marriage."<sup>2</sup>

Popular thinking shows not only a

<sup>1</sup> George Crile, *Diseases Peculiar to Civilized Man*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act I, Scene III.

lack of appreciation of this spread of sex out from the merely physical instinct into the accretions but also a deeply rooted protest against such an interpretation, the result of the fears that have brought forth the various sorts of sex taboo. A favorite description of sex that attempts to deny this extension appears in the common habit of talking about it or thinking about it as the animal passion. A moment's thought of the complications associated even with legal, affectionate marriage makes clear how far human sex experience has traveled from the animal passion out of which it has developed.

Not only has sex expanded along with the increase of psychic life among humans; it has also possessed characteristics which distinguish it from the experience of animals. These have come from self-consciousness, the qualitative change that has appeared in human life as a consequence of a quantitative, evolutionary development of nervous equipment. Once self-consciousness arose in the ongoing of organic development, so significant and compelling a human drive as that of sex could not fail to express itself in new and more complicated forms on this highest level of human experience and as a consequence sex conduct became a composite, containing every sort of intellectual and emotional reaction reflecting the prevailing social, religious, and moral standards and concepts.

Sex is not permitted to remain separate and merely function in the individual experience, but instead it is elevated in meaning until in many cultures it takes first rank as a problem of morality. If this were the full significance of the alliance of sex and self-consciousness, the task of adjustment would be simplified and become merely the training of the individual to conform to the existing ethical standards. Many parents in the training

of their children do reduce their responsibilities to such a simple sex preparation for life. Unfortunately, in modern civilization, a multitude of individuals, especially those struggling with neurotic sensitivity, cannot keep their sex conflict and growth processes to so narrow a range. Although this extension is disturbing to sex adjustment, making the ordeal frequently artificial and self-imposed, it could be escaped only by shutting the sex hunger out of self-consciousness and leaving it primitive and unrefined. This we do not do even in another strong primitive drive—our hunger for food.

It therefore becomes necessary to interpret sex maladjustments, whether they appear in the single or the married-life career, as by-products of this psychologizing of the fundamental organic drive. The enrichment of the psychic life of humans provides a superior memory and imagination that not only increase the qualitative meaning of human sex relations but bring to them potential inhibitions, obstructions, dissatisfactions, and even recoils that variegate as well as complicate human sex adjustment. The memory easily furnishes content that may be worked over by self-consciousness into feelings of guilt. The imagination likewise offers its contribution to the building up of anxiety.

These are prominent penalties of the psychic complexity of human sex experience, but merely to signalize them would mean leaving out of account the vast amount of troublesome disturbances in the realm of sex that come to life when we go searching into specific, individual sex difficulties. Inferiority feeling, jealousy, masochistic or sadistic impulses, sex antagonism, shame, suspicion, and fear are other sorts of conflicts to which both memory and imagination contribute. Even our attempts to tag the happenings

with such descriptive terms usually artificially limit the nature of the trouble. What we really find in our analysis is a character trait and a situation that may be catalogued for emphasis under some one suggestive concept but which can seldom be explained by the choice of any one diagnostic term. For therapeutic purposes, it may not matter that we stress one of the many contributing factors, because in dealing with it we soon are confronted with the other influences that also have helped in creating the problem. Undoubtedly, parents make a great amount of unnecessary trouble for their children as they grow toward an attempted sex maturity by giving them in infancy and childhood and even in youth an inadequate or at times unwholesome training.

Even if the hazards of traditional-mindedness, ignorance, or insincerity were eliminated, one could not expect that this would entirely take away in such a complex culture as ours all influences that complicate the functioning of sex. The fact that the stress of growing up into adult sex relationships is so little in evidence in some simple society can only encourage us to do all we can to lessen tensions that develop in the sex careers of modern men and women. To do as well as primitive folks we would need to empty ourselves not only of the artificial and the irrational obstructions but also of the inherent difficulties born of the enrichment of individual life and its response to conflicting stimuli.

We can throw off the burden of an unintelligent preparation for marriage, but we cannot return to a simplicity of social organization. Instead, our activities, to have any degree of promise, must be directed toward still more maturing of the individual that he may be equal to the burdens put upon him in all his relationships, including sex, by the civilization to

which he belongs. To look backward to the easier task of simpler people is mere wishful thinking, a covering up of the unescapable complexities of modern sexual adjustments and sex attitudes. Sex invites within its sphere the expression of any emotional disturbance or conflict, wherever or however it originates.

The cultural spread of sex has influenced the mating interests of men and women in their widest radiations. One effect of this has been the multiplying of the stimuli that operate upon human sex hunger. This has not merely been a natural result of a complex and extremely self-conscious way of living but also, in addition, it has come from artificial, deliberately directed efforts designed to enter consciousness through the gateway of sex appeal. How constantly the modern man and woman are bombarded from every direction by these attacks that come through exploiting the sex impulse is illustrated by merely looking through the advertisements of almost any popular magazine. The content of the periodical also frequently attempts to get hold of the reader by the same means. The movies have so overdone this sex appeal that there has been a considerable reaction, so forceful and well organized in the United States that they have had to heed the protest. Even music has catered to primitive feelings in a way that intensifies the normal physical urge.

A considerable literature finds in sex its only bid for popularity. Necessarily this exploiting of sex has tended to exaggerate the sex career and at the same time the excess of stimuli have tended to deaden their appeal. Thus pictures, descriptions, suggestions, and dramatic portrayals that originally were stimulating, because of their frequency have less and less effectiveness. Taking this into account, and recognizing that no period of time has

likely been without these sex stimulating influences, one must nevertheless admit that the mechanical resources of our civilization have made the distribution and the penetrativeness of these influences so great as to give these artificial stimulations significance whenever one deals with any problem of sex maladjustment. The human adult, including youth, and to some extent the child, is in an environment that has become permeated with purposeful exploitation of the sex impulse and this has led to an extraordinary consciousness, particularly on the part of young people, of their sex drive.

Along with this have necessarily gone refinements of sex desire and experience that have carried successful adjustment far beyond the mere structural adaptation of the individual male and female. A great part of the demands made upon sex are perhaps best interpreted in the sphere of affection rather than at their source. Nevertheless, even if we use the word love rather than sex, and this was a problem that Freud faced when he first began to interpret the results of his soundings of human nature, the fact remains that we are merely choosing between the thinking of sex as it has been refined by being permeated with what we call love or love as it has incorporated sex. Whatever our preference, we are dealing with the product of a refining process that has taken over one of our most primitive urges and forced to flower an unparalleled richness of cravings and of satisfactions. This is not only a cultural achievement that we can generalize sociologically; it is something that occurs to every normal individual when he awakens to adult sex needs in the atmosphere of modern life.

As one would expect, the stress that sex has come to have in the conscious program of the individual, even though it has been accepted only in a sublimated and dis-

guised form, has led to expectations that complicate life adjustment and particularly sex adjustment. Most young persons make their heaviest wagers in their expectations of drawing the satisfactions that romance has so highly colored. Undoubtedly modern men and women, especially the latter, do more often win effective marital adjustment than when mutual expectation was less strong. Nevertheless, so much is at stake that any considerable failure easily leads to domestic discontent and eventual separation or some promiscuous solution of the disappointing relationship. Frequently sex satisfaction is interpreted as something surely possessed if only one has knowledge of the necessary technique. Even sophisticated youth frequently fails to see that the training that comes from knowledge and experience in the realm of sex is only part of the resources required for successful marital adjustment. Over a long period of time there is needed also the adequacy that can come only from an efficient personality, independent of sex. If mating interests have flowed over into non-sexual psychic life, the reverse also has occurred.

Sex experience, therefore, cannot be isolated from the total contacts of two human beings attempting to make satisfactory marital adjustment. Immaturities, defects of personality, sooner or later are drawn into the sexual relationship where they may abort happiness even though both persons are familiar with the principles of efficient marital technique. There is no way by which modern marriage can escape the strain, the reconstructions, and at times the tragedies that belong to the sex experience, because these are so substantially related to the character of the individuals concerned. This means that the adjustment is never general, determined by the individuals possessing or not having certain virtues, but rather that it

is the concrete testing of the possibility of the two persons, different as they are because of their own peculiar characteristics, achieving emotional unity in a relationship that modern life is tending to make supremely decisive in the successes or failures of marriage.

The therapeutic problem that faces anyone who tries to help people in trouble in marriage ranges from the simple needs of some concrete, practical information or assistance to a thoroughgoing revision of the personality. In the latter case, any effort to help to bring insight is not only difficult but one for which the person in trouble is ill prepared. The incentive necessary to reconstruct the life-spirit is weak or lacking. Instead a miracle is requested, some quickly given remedy that will operate immediately to remove the sex maladjustment, there being no realization that this is itself a product of a much wider and deeper problem.

The marriage counselor cannot be merely a scientist unless he is content with serving only a portion of those coming to him for help and on the lower levels of disturbance. He must become a strategist. In addition to his understanding of sex maladjustments and their immediate causes, he must come to know human

nature in its inconsistencies and its intricacies of emotional experience. Even though he may prefer dealing with sex as if it were a matter by itself, he is forced by the way this impulse is spread through cultural manipulation to enter the mysteries of the inner life of humans. Here he can never gain the understanding he covets, but the better he understands the conduct of men and women, the greater his sympathy, the deeper his penetration, and the larger his insight as he grapples with all sorts and degrees of marital maladjustment.

The marriage counselor grows familiar with the conflict that frequently starts early in life and, enforced by the conflicting stimuli of modern civilization, renders difficult, even almost impossible, a sex relationship that ought, so far as structure and the strength of primitive impulses are concerned, to be easily achieved. Why men and women should torture themselves so unnecessarily in merely carrying out a life process seems strange until it is realized how individuals are victimized by a psychic spread of the sex drive in an enrichment inevitable if sex satisfaction is to keep pace with the increasingly sensitive self-consciousness that goes along with our complex way of living.

### MEDICAL ASPECTS OF MARITAL INCOMPATIBILITY\*

W. R. STANFORD, M.D.

*Durham, North Carolina*

THE medical aspects of this condition are legion. It would be next to impossible to detail them, so any discussion of this subject must of necessity be somewhat along general lines. When you realize that medicine as a science deals

with the physical, the mental, and at times the spiritual side of man, then you really begin to get a concept of the medical aspects of marital incompatibility. Naturally, I may omit many medical causes of marital incompatibility; possibly even some very important causes. Then, too, there will be some rare and unusual causes mentioned; some of them so rare that they

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may be seen only by occasional doctors. In other words, a doctor may practice an entire lifetime of medical practice without running into such a case. Many of these medical causes of marital disturbances are more amenable to diagnosis than they are to treatment. They may tax the ingenuity of the doctor to the utmost, and even then they may not be solved. But the fact that these problems are still brought to the doctor tends to prove that he is often able to relieve the condition even if he cannot cure it.

The physical causes include in the main those due to disease, those due to anatomical defects, those due to physiological causes, and those due to neurological defects. In addition to these, we have many psychological causes. These conditions naturally affect mainly the sex side of life, and most of them result in a certain amount of sexual impotence. This impotence may be complete or partial. It may interfere with performance of the sex act, or it may just prevent reproduction. In other words, though the sex act is satisfactorily performed, if conception does not take place there may be enough mental distress to cause marital incompatibility. It might be well to mention right here that the fear of conception, or the failure to protect from conception, may be a cause of incompatibility from the woman's point of view.

There are many diseases which cause marital difficulties; some of them causing actual impotence or partial impotence, some of them causing mental aversion, some even causing destruction of the sexual organs. Chief among these diseases are the venereal diseases: that is, syphilis, gonorrhea, chancroid, and granuloma inguinale. Gonorrhea causes in the male urethritis, epididymitis, prostatitis, arthritis, etc., and in the female vaginitis,

salpingitis, peritonitis, and arthritis; and at times sterilization in both sexes.

Syphilis is really a constitutional disease, but is most often contracted by sexual intercourse. This disease may affect almost any part of the body. It usually begins as a primary sore. In about forty-two days it shows a general rash, which is known as the secondary stage. Any development after the secondary stage belongs to the tertiary stage. Syphilis is a cause of marital incompatibility mainly for the following reasons: it often causes abortion and in this way produces sterile unions; the offspring, if any, is often diseased, and this leads to unhappiness and incompatibility. Also, the mere knowledge of the husband or wife that his or her mate has had syphilis is often a cause of incompatibility. Chancroid and granuloma inguinale may cause destruction of the sexual organs and in this way cause incompatibility.

There are other debilitating diseases which cause sex difficulties. These diseases usually cut down desire or they interfere in the actual performance of the sex act. There are some diseases, such as leukemia, which at times increase the sex desire to an abnormal degree. There are still other diseases which do not directly affect sex which cause marital difficulties. The tuberculous patient who becomes an invalid, either at home or at a sanatorium, often runs into marital difficulties. Mental diseases often cause this sort of thing. In fact, any disabling disease may belong to this group.

Physiological difference may be a cause of incompatibility. If either the man or woman is undersexed, even though the other is normal, an incompatibility may occur. To illustrate this point, there is the story of the unfaithful wife, (though in this case the woman was probably oversexed), who, being questioned, told the

following story. She stated that she required intercourse every two weeks, while her husband could only perform the act once a month. As a result of this difference in desire, she was unfaithful. This is an example of an undersexed husband, and if not an oversexed wife, certainly one who did not have the proper control of her sex desire.

I might add right here that it is not always desire that causes the difficulty. Sometimes it is a marked curiosity that leads the man or woman into infidelities, just a desire to see whether the act is more satisfactory abroad than it is at home. The woman who has never had an orgasm may be tempted to experiment. In medieval times, especially among the royalty, the desire for progeny caused infidelities.

There are many other physiological variations in sex. Some of these differ enough to cause marital difficulties. The different degrees of desire cause much trouble. In many cases ignorance of physiology causes the trouble. The average "nice" woman who got married ten or fifteen years ago was a more or less asexual individual whose emotional sex life was almost entirely dormant. There are still certain women of this type getting married at present, but I feel sure that the number is much less than it was. Certainly the average young woman of today gets much more indirect sex knowledge than she used to. This knowledge is obtained from various sources. These sources are so numerous that it would be impossible to detail all of them. However, I will mention a few. The movies, certainly those of a few years ago, played a big part in making young women and girls sex-wise. Some of our modern literature is another great source of sex knowledge. The herding of large groups of boys and girls in our high schools, and especially in our coeducational institutions,

has a marked tendency to increase sex consciousness. The so-called harmless petting is also another great factor in increasing sex consciousness.

Of course, illicit sexual intercourse among our youth is another source of sex knowledge. In my practice, I have occasion to see at times the young women who indulge in illicit intercourse. These types vary. There is the retiring quiet type who is not built to say no. She is usually bashful and very reticent on this subject. There is the other type which I think is found more frequently. She is thoroughly sophisticated, a woman of the world, and as casual about sex matters to her doctor as she is about her food. I must say in passing that both of these young women have ample material with which to form incompatible marriages. The first young woman often marries without confessing her past. And often after a few years she gets a fit of conscience and confesses her past or her husband may find it out from other sources. Of course, her marriage is immediately on the rocks. The other young woman marries, and usually her husband knows all about her past, but knowing her past, he often fails to trust her and her marriage lands where the first marriage landed.

Still, many a young woman who gets married is without sex knowledge. In other words, she hasn't enough knowledge of her own to make her a physiological sex unit, and she may never become one. However, this is not always her fault. In fact, it is often the fault of her mate, the male. He may be the cause for various reasons. Most of these reasons may be traced directly or indirectly to his ignorance. This young woman we are discussing is practically an asexual individual. She marries a young man who is ignorant of her sex physiology, and, which is just as important, he is ignorant

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of the psychological aspects of the situation. Here are two individuals, one of whom is already physiologically ready for the sex act, the other one has to be prepared for it. It is not necessary to detail their difficulties. It suffices to say that their first sexual intercourse amounts to little less than rape. In other words, the young woman receives a physical and psychological trauma from which she may never recover. She may develop a vaginismus, which is a frequent cause of marital incompatibility, or she may remain frigid and never become awakened sexually. Both of these situations often cause difficulties.

Another less frequent cause for incompatibility is the atavistic woman who has sex desire only once a month. This is usually right after or just before her period. The rest of the time she doesn't wish to be bothered, and if she consents to intercourse she is perfectly uncooperative.

Still another physiological cause of marital difficulties is the difference in timing in the man and woman. Lots of women are much slower reaching their climax than the man. For this reason, many women go through their entire married life without being satisfied sexually. This causes mental and nervous disturbance even to the point at times of breaking up the home.

I have mentioned difference in desire being a cause of trouble. However, there is something further to be said along this line in regard to both the hypersexed man and the hypersexed woman. There are certain types of men who have an abnormal sex appetite. These individuals require sexual intercourse so often that it becomes a constant source of irritation to their wives. If their wives refuse to accede to their desires these men become unfaithful or they become so disagreeable that they are hard to live with. A

marked case of hyperesthesia in the man is called satyriasis. This condition in the man corresponds to nymphomania in the woman. Nymphomania is defined as an insane sex desire in the female. Anne Boleyn was supposed to have been an example of this group. It is stated that she had intercourse while confined to bed soon after the birth of her child. So you see there are many physiological differences in function and desire. These differences are often abnormal, and when they become abnormal, they become pathological.

There are many anatomical sex variations that lead to marital incompatibility. Any anatomical variation that prevents proper completion of the sex act may serve as a cause of marital incompatibility. In the male, these abnormalities extend all the way from an apparent absence or an infantilism at one extreme to the megalopenis at the other extreme. The male organ may be small and show no erection, or, if any, a very weak erection; it may be so large as to interfere with intercourse or to make it so painful that it is brutal. There are certain hermaphroditic forms in both sexes which are incapable of intercourse. These individuals occasionally get married. (As is well known, there is really no true hermaphroditic form in the human race.) They naturally have difficulties. In the female, also, you will find anatomical differences that interfere with intercourse. There are quite a few abnormalities. Probably the most common one is the tough, thickened hymen. These abnormalities vary and the vagina itself may be absent. Some of these female anatomical variations are gotten around in the most curious and ingenious ways at times, and for this reason, while they are sometimes a cause for marital incompatibility, they may not be.

There are certain neurological or nerv-

ous defects that may cause marital incompatibility. These may be due to organic disease of the nervous system, or they may be due to functional disease of the nervous system. Organic disease of the nervous system may make the sex act impossible or very unsatisfactory, but organic disease does not play as much part in marital incompatibility as does functional nervous disease. In the first place, organic nervous disease is not as frequent as functional nervous disease. Secondly, I believe that the man or woman whose mate is suffering from organic disease is more sympathetic than he or she would be if his or her mate were suffering from functional disease. The male who is suffering from a nervous functional disease may not be able to maintain an erection long enough to have an intercourse, or he may ejaculate before or just after intercourse is begun. Probably the most frequent functional nervous disorder among women is vaginismus. However, there may be many kinds of nervous reactions which interfere with intercourse.

For instance, there was the young woman who disliked her husband, even hated to have him touch her. He thought that she was undersexed and told her so. This hurt her pride, because she knew that if she were with someone that she loved, she would be perfectly normal sexually. This young woman is probably headed for marital difficulties. There is a man who is married to a perfectly normal young woman. He has intercourse at very infrequent intervals because he is nervous and is unable to sleep after the act and because he feels very weak and badly the next day. This is probably due entirely to a functional nervous disturbance. This interferes with proper sexual relations and may eventually lead to marital difficulties.

As I stated at the beginning, the aspects of the subject are legion. There are many

things that cause marital incompatibility which have no relation to sex. I have touched on many of the medical aspects, both sexual and nonsexual. There are certain poorly adjusted personalities who run into marital difficulties. They belong to the medical group and are often amenable to psychiatric adjustment. Professor Groves tells us that emotional immaturity is a fundamental cause of marital trouble. These immature people are continually running away from things. Professor Groves places what he calls clash between "wills to power" second to emotional immaturity as a cause for marital dissatisfaction. He recognizes that appeals to morality, to religion, and to social ethics are powerless to remedy these basic conditions. He thinks that the psychiatrist is the person to attack these problems. These problems are difficult, and the psychiatrist must have a thorough knowledge of psychology and the ability to go to the bottom of them. So we add something from the emotional field to the medical aspects of marital incompatibility.

Homosexuality is at times a cause of marital difficulties. If any deviation from normal is noted by the mate, and if the deviation is marked enough, it may cause trouble. In fact, any perversion of the sexual appetite may cause marital difficulties. One well known example of perversion is known as sadism. This perversion is characterized by two things: first, by an exalted and absolutely pathological association of sexual desire with a sanguinary instinct; along with this a desire to illtreat and overcome a victim; second, by an almost absolute absence of moral sense and sympathy; combined with this is a violent and egotistic sexual passion. This condition is more common in men than in women.

Another perversion is masochism. This is exactly the opposite of sadism. The

desire of the masochist is excited by humiliation, submission, and even blows. There is the story of the typical masochist, who, being very religious, was convinced that his perverted sexual appetite was a sin. To cure his condition, he got married; but he found to his chagrin that he was absolutely impotent and incapable of intercourse.

Fetishism is another perversion. This one is essentially masculine. Fetishism is the production of voluptuous sensation by contact with or by sight of certain portions of the body or the clothes of a member of the opposite sex. The most common fetishes are women's handkerchiefs, gloves, velvet or shoes, or their hair, hands, or feet. In these cases, the fetish itself plays the essential rôle. As you can readily see, if a man loves his wife's shoes more than he does her, he is likely to get into trouble.

The so called Oedipus' complex is a psychic abnormality that plays a big part in marital difficulties. It is not unusual for a doctor to hear that some man's mother has come between him and his wife. There is many a home broken up by the interference of the man's mother. Of course, the mother finds it difficult to interfere unless her son lets her, and this is where the complex plays its rôle. Of course, to all intents and purposes, there is no sexual element in the rôle. Some psychologists say that this complex is due to a suppressed erotic passion on the part of the man for his own mother. However, I feel that it is more often due to the effect of a strong personality on an immature one. Then, too, the fact that the son has been in the habit of obeying and looking up to his mother all his life undoubtedly plays a part.

But after all is said and done, sex is really a most important factor in marital relations. In other words, if there is a

normal sex adjustment, there may be many other things wrong without causing any major marital incompatibility.

We have all seen cases that have been hard for the ordinary person to understand. Because of the nature of the beast, the man usually plays the leading rôle in these mysterious cases. I will illustrate with this very familiar type of case. There is a good-for-nothing, ne'er do-well man who drinks and does many other disreputable things, and yet there is often a good woman who sticks to him through thick and thin. To the ignorant this is a puzzle, but to the well informed it is no mystery. The informed person knows that regardless of how worthless the man is, he and his wife have probably been able to make a proper sex adjustment. Proper sexual adjustment is one of the fundamentals of marital happiness.

It is very hard to make any comprehensive statement about the medical treatment of these conditions. The treatment must of necessity be as varied as the causes themselves. As I have said before, it taxes the doctor's ingenuity to the utmost. These conditions, even with the best of planning, are not always capable of being solved. Even if you know the remedy, you may hesitate to prescribe it. I have in mind a family, consisting of a man, his wife, and two children. The man and the wife have, I feel sure, practically reached the end of their row. That is, they are literally living a cat and dog life. I think that they should separate, and yet it is a big responsibility to prescribe such a measure. Every angle of the case should be studied before advising such drastic treatment. If there are no children, the case is less complicated, but even if there are none, it is difficult enough. The administration of treatment always requires judgment, and at times courage, on the part of the doctor.

If we had proper marriage laws, many of the marital problems would never occur. Every person who gets married should have a thorough physical examination, including an examination for the two common venereal diseases. Every youth of questionable age should have his or her age sworn to by one or more responsible people, or should only be allowed to marry after his or her birth certificate has been properly examined. Every couple should be made to get their marriage license a certain number of days before their marriage. In addition to proper marriage laws, uniform divorce laws would help.

So you see that the situation calls for prophylaxis as well as treatment.

Finally, I wish to say that the subject of sex has too long been taboo. Ignorance of this subject, as I have already said, is often a cause of marital incompatibility. We should turn on more light and let people know the things they should know about this important subject. As a final remedial measure, I would urge a thorough and sane educational program for all persons along sex lines. It is only in this way that marital incompatibility due to sex conditions can be eliminated.

## PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE TRENDS IN THE SOUTHERN WHITE FAMILY\*

BERNICE MILBURN MOORE

*Austin, Texas*

THE Southeast<sup>1</sup> has built its institutional structure on an economy of soil eroded and mined, commercially cropped, tenant farmed, woman and child worked land with a resulting low level of living reflected in every manifestation of family life—diet, housing, health, education, recreation, and welfare. Level of living, to say nothing of the more intangible standard of living, in the region takes on new significance when the Southeast is considered as the source of the new migration within the United States for the re-population of regions no longer self-perpetuating. Immigration is a thing of the past; internal migration is the pattern of the present and immediate future.

Quantity of population the Southeast has, but as Lorimer and Osborn have so

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<sup>1</sup> The region treated in this paper is the Southeast of Dr. Howard W. Odum's six-fold regional classification. See *Southern Regions of the United States*, pp. 5-7.

vividly pointed out in their recent volume,<sup>2</sup> the real problem facing the nation in terms of people is quality rather than quantity. Necessarily, quality as well as quantity of folk is a family problem. Whether the new migrants the Southeast is breeding, mainly rural in heritage, will become a deteriorating factor in our national cultural-intellectual development depends on the adequacy of institutional achievement in the region, and the family is not the least of these institutions.

In our economy where success or failure of an institution is more often than not judged on evidence of financial adequacy, participation in the totality of the national culture is conditioned largely by income. How great an opportunity is there for the families of the Southeast to attain anything near a comparable share of cultural conditioning when how much can be bought is the determining criterion? As Dr. Howard W. Odum has pointed out in *Southern Regions of the United States*, the

<sup>2</sup> *Dynamics of Population*.

per capita personal income of the Southeast, at the height of the so-called period of prosperity, 1929, was the lowest in the nation, \$365. For the rural farm group, on whom the chief reproductive function of the nation seems to rest, the per capita personal income was much less, or approximately \$183.<sup>3</sup> True also is it that this low monetary income in the rural Southeast, area of highest fertility, is not offset by any degree of self-sufficiency in the home.

If such matters of family concern as health, diet, housing, education, and recreation depend to a large extent on income and the income of the Southeast is, for the majority, on a sub-sufficiency level, can the families of the region be expected to produce quality folk in terms of non-material values—attitudes, ideals, and sound public opinion? Can a philosophy of adequacy—social, economic, and political—be instilled into the family group that has never known adequacy in any sense of the word?

Basic to any consideration of the family institution in a given region is the distribution of the folk, and such a distribution, with particular reference to the Southeast, gives a clue to the cultural inadequacy of the family. Because of the excessive fertility of the women of the region, the Southeast carries the child burden of the nation, and this has been consistently true for at least the past half century. Because of the pattern of migration from the region in search of economic opportunity, the economically productive age group, 15 to 64 years, is lowest in the nation in proportion to the load it must carry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> P. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Bernice M. Moore, Age and Sex Distribution of the People as Conditioning Factors in Cultural Participation: A Study in Regional Demography of the United States. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1937.

Approximately 61 per cent of the folk of the Southeast in 1930 was within the economically productive age groups, while the Northeast and the Middle States, industrial regions of the nation, had percentages in these age groups well over the national average of 65. The producers of the Southeast, working in the main in a decreasingly important industry—agriculture—and one which has been and is in a depressed condition, literally staggered under the burden of almost 35 per cent of its population under 15 years of age with an additional four per cent more than 65 years old.<sup>5</sup> Children and old people, in an agrarian society, are in the main family responsibilities.

Of particular significance to the family of the Southeast is the Social Security Act of 1935, since that Act left in the lap of the family the age burden of the region. Since agriculture is the primary occupation, there is no provision for assistance in the care of the aged in a region which probably needs such assistance most.

And, too, as Professor Ernest R. Groves has pointed out, when old age is a matter of family care, it is the basis of not only economic difficulty but of emotional conflict within the family as well.<sup>6</sup> Three generations—age, middle age, and childhood—find it difficult to adjust to each other. Particularly is this true where a minimum income must be spread over necessities, minimum of housing comfort, and the minimum of opportunities for activity in the home distributed according to the range of ages it must cover.

In spite of the fact that there is a higher percentage of women of child bearing age, 15 to 44 years, in the total population of the Southeast than men in the same age grouping, the per cent of native white women married was next to highest in the nation in 1930, surpassed only by the

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *The American Family*, pp. 300-302.

Southwest. That is, 62.7 per cent of the native white women 15-44 were married, as against 66.2 per cent of the same ages in the Southwest. If the age group 20-44 is used, over three-fourths of the women of the Southeast were married in 1930, or 75.8 per cent, with 79.1 per cent in the Southwest.<sup>7</sup> Early marriage is still an accepted pattern for both regions of the South, and will remain so, it appears, as long as the regions under consideration are predominantly agrarian. The family on the farm still is an economic necessity.

TABLE I. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN SOUTHEAST FOR SELECTED AGE GROUPINGS, 1890-1930\*

| YEAR | UNDER 15 | 15-64 | 45-64 | 65 AND OVER |
|------|----------|-------|-------|-------------|
| 1890 | 42.2     | 54.6  | 10.9  | 3.0         |
| 1900 | 40.4     | 56.1  | 11.7  | 3.2         |
| 1910 | 38.2     | 58.1  | 12.4  | 3.5         |
| 1920 | 37.7     | 58.4  | 13.1  | 3.8         |
| 1930 | 34.9     | 60.8  | 14.6  | 4.2         |

\* Source: Bernice M. Moore, *Age and Sex Distribution of the People as Conditioning Factors in Cultural Participation: A Study in Regional Demography of the United States*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1937.

Since child brides have become pet headlines for news stories within the past month, it may be of interest to note that 61.7 per cent of the child brides, girls married under 15 years of age, are found in the Southeast. The Southwest accounts for 12.5 per cent more, with the two regions having almost three-fourths in the nation. While the total number of these marriages within the nation is extremely small, their concentration in the Southeast and Southwest does give an indication of the lag in marriage mores in the more rural and culturally retarded areas of the country.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Mothers of the South*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1937.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

The fertility of the women of the Southeast is so constantly reiterated, it is an easy matter to overlook the fact that the reproductive rate has been descending at the most rapid rate in the nation at least since 1880. However, it still maintains the distinction of being the highest.

A comparative presentation between the Northeast, Middle States, and Southeast, oldest regions in the United States from the point of settlement, will serve to vivify the changing relationship of the latter. In 1880 the ratio of children under five to women of child bearing age, 15-44 years, was 500 per thousand in the Northeast and in the next five decades declined steadily until it reached 360 per thousand in 1930, or there was a loss of 140 children per one thousand women within 50 years. Similar is the picture for the Middle States, rural at the beginning of the period under consideration and urban by the end of it. The decrease here was from 630 children under five per thousand women in 1880 to 370 per thousand in 1930, a loss of 160 children.

On the other hand, the Southeast, rural in 1880 as in 1930, was high for the nation during the first decade studied with 740 children under five per thousand women of child bearing age, but had dropped by 1930 to 470 per thousand, or a loss of 270. The important fact to be noted concerning the fertility rate of the Southeast is that while it has remained the largest in the nation from 1880 to 1930, it has also declined the most rapidly.<sup>9</sup> At the present rate, since other regions appear to be stabilizing their birth rates, it seems possible that the Southeast may reach stability in reproductive rate near that of the other regions in the nation.

Obviously what is happening is that the women of the Southeast are having chil-

<sup>9</sup> Bernice M. Moore, *The Fertility of American Women, A Vanishing Tradition*. Unpublished paper, University of North Carolina, 1935.

dren, but they are not having as many. If size of family becomes reduced more in line with income of family, it is to be hoped that the conditioning factors dependent on economic considerations will be more evenly spread with the concomitant result of a higher quality of folk.

In passing, it is interesting to note that the subregions of the lowest fertility ratio in the Southeast are those of the highest percentage Negro population, the Delta areas of the Cotton Belt, and that the highest fertility ratio is in the pure white Southern Appalachian section, submarginal in living standards and isolated as to cultural participation. Obviously the Southeast cannot place the chief problem of quantity of folk at the doorstep of the Negro.<sup>10</sup>

Still another indication of the strain on white family adequacy may be obtained by a comparison of the median size of families for the United States and the regions of the nation. The Southeast has, as is to be expected, consistently larger white family groups than any other region in the nation and larger than those of the nation as a whole.

The median size family for the United States was in 1930, 3.34 persons; for rural farm, 4.00; for rural non-farm, 3.30; and for urban, 3.15 members. In contrast the Southeast white families ranged from 3.92 persons as the median for all, to 4.42 for rural farm; 3.76 for rural non-farm; and 3.48 for urban.

Again it is wise to stress the fact that it is the white problem that is of utmost importance in the Southeast. The median size of families of the Southeast as a whole for native whites, as has been said, was 3.92. On the other hand, the median size of the Negro families was 3.36, pointing to a more rapid adjustment of the latter

group to urban culture in terms of family size.

Birth control advocates see the Southeast as the fertile field of effort and see in their hands the solution of the whole family problem of the region. However, while the importance of birth control as a method of decreasing family size in the Southeast more nearly commensurate with income and institutional advantages is not to be minimized, there should not be too great optimism about it as to the immediate and complete alleviation of family difficulties.

TABLE II. MEDIAN SIZE NATIVE WHITE FAMILY

|                    | ALL  | RURAL | RURAL<br>NON-<br>FARM | URBAN |
|--------------------|------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| United States..... | 3.34 | 4.00  | 3.30                  | 3.15  |
| Southeast.....     | 3.92 | 4.42  | 3.76                  | 3.48  |
| Southwest.....     | 3.54 | 4.16  | 3.39                  | 3.21  |
| Northeast.....     | 3.26 | 3.75  | 3.33                  | 3.17  |
| Middle States..... | 3.26 | 3.76  | 3.10                  | 3.15  |
| Northwest.....     | 3.39 | 3.86  | 3.20                  | 3.17  |
| Far West.....      | 2.76 | 3.24  | 2.87                  | 2.66  |

Source: U. S. Census, Population, VI, U. S. Tables, 19, 22; State Tables, 4, 6.

\* The regional medians are weighted averages of the medians of the states which compose the region.

Birth control technique, as prescribed by the most up to date and modern clinics, is based on four important assumptions: 1) that the information is available to every group regardless of economic or educational condition; 2) that the individuals who are to use the method prescribed will be able to buy or otherwise obtain the necessary supplies; 3) that they have sufficient knowledge of their anatomical structure to properly use the method—which is extremely doubtful in the groups of highest fertility—the mountain women, tenant women, and mill workers; and 4) it assumes privacy enough in living arrangements for its proper use.

<sup>10</sup> Carter Goodrich and Others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, pp. 132-133.

A glance at these assumptions shows at what a low point the Southeast can qualify for successful use of birth control as it is now prescribed. Of course it has been suggested by such eminent scholars as Dr. William F. Ogburn that the so-called natural method will be of great benefit to the overly large families of the region. But, as Professor Ernest R. Groves has pointed out, the whole of this method is still based on an hypothesis as yet unproven, and even if the technique were applicable, it assumes sophistication and education to a large degree for its practice, neither of which can be found in the group which needs most to use it.

In other words, the problem of the large family in the Southeast is apt to be with the nation at least for several decades to come, and its cultural adequacy as a source of national population rests on the whole of the economic and social structure of the region. The family, as such, cannot be isolated from other institutions which make up the matrix of culture. As Professor Groves puts the case, "Only as there is better distribution of wealth, with higher standards of living and greater economic security, is there hope of accomplishing much in the bettering of family life. This solution to this larger problem clearly belongs to the economists, technological experts, financial leaders, public administrators, and legislators, state and national."<sup>11</sup>

As Carter Goodrich and his associates, particularly Dr. Rupert B. Vance in his treatment of the Old Cotton Belt, have pointed out, the Southeast must continue sending out its folk to other regions of the nation unless it fall still further below the line of sufficiency.<sup>12</sup> How completely can

<sup>11</sup> *The American Family*, p. 395.

<sup>12</sup> Rupert B. Vance, "Old Cotton Belt," in Carter Goodrich and Others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*.

this constant stream of rural youths, raised in overcrowded, underfurnished houses; fed on an insufficient diet; educated in the poorest school system in the nation, be assimilated into the national culture without lowering the level of the whole?

Back of all this gloom, there is a ray of hope. The folk of the Southeast are born in an American culture, limited though it is; they speak the language of the nation; their basic folkways and mores stem from the same original sources as those of the rest of the regions of the nation. Their chief change in migrating from one region to another is that which comes from a move country to city, and from rural insufficiency to urban insufficiency—or if particularly fortunate, to urban sufficiency. While there will be individual personal disorganization as there always has been in a shift in base of living, while there will be a drain on the resources of the new region to which they move, their final assimilation should be less difficult than that of the immigrant who has poured into the country—different in language and culture—to the number of 38,000,000 in about 100 years.<sup>13</sup>

The Southeast, then, in its family aspects is a problem area of the nation. Enormously productive as to folk, inequitably distributed as to sex and productive age grouping, it is a region with the soundest and most American cultural heritage and is most isolated and inadequate as to participation in the totality of the national urbanized culture. It has problems of youth and age, of woman and child labor, of insufficient income and inadequate institutions, of migration and vital depletion, and on the basis of family adequacy offers fertile ground for regional and national planning.

<sup>13</sup> Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, 1930, ed., p. 375.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

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### NEGRO IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES\*

IRA DE A. REID

*Atlanta University*

**A**FRICANS, Black" is the cover-all term employed by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization to cloak with racial identification all persons of Negro extraction admitted to or departing from the United States. It is a conjure-word that metamorphoses persons who, prior to embarking for the United States, may have been known as "coloured," "mulatto," or "black," some having nationality identification without benefit of race.

Between 1899 and 1936 approximately 145,000 "Africans, Black" were legally admitted to the United States. A small number, one says. Yes, quantitatively perhaps, a very small number. But, it represents a group regarded as "utterly unassimilable" in the majority population as the native Negro population it joins. But, "Africans, Black" do come to our shores; furthermore, "Africans, Black" do assimilate. They come from the West Indies, Central America, South America, Africa, and the Azorean Islands. What type of assimilation does take place? How is it effected? And, with what significant effects upon the national social and economic structure? Answers to these questions are to be found in the analysis of social problems this immigration presents.

\* Presented at the Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Birmingham, Alabama, April 2, 1937.

Singularly, this question of Negro immigration has received only passing attention in the myriad works on immigration problems and policies in the United States. A sentence here and a paragraph there—frequently to the effect that this immigration is not extensive—represent the sum total of references in immigration literature. When, however, it is realized that the present Negro foreign-born population numbers approximately 100,000 persons; that more than 90 per cent of it resides in the following cities: New York, N. Y., Boston, Mass., Cambridge, Mass., and Miami, Fla.; and, that in these cities it forms from 15 to 25 per cent of the total Negro population, the subject becomes significant. Significant because these small aggregates of Negroes with their diverse customs, traditions, institutions and ideas of homeland, are not only modifying their own culture to conform to the status accorded Negroes in the United States, but are in turn modifying the culture of the American Negro in these communities and in the country as a whole. Denied the freedom of social circulation to which many of them have been accustomed—in theory, if not in practice—they frequently refuse to let the status of the Negro become fixed at a subordinate level.

Conflict situations between the foreign-born Negro groups and the native ones,

between two Negro immigrant groups, and between different generations of the same immigrant group make us aware of definite phases of social process in the phenomenon. Negro immigration being largely from the Americas does not possess the outward manifestations of the stranger that are common to European immigrants. The "standardized externals" make for less visibility. The student, therefore, must probe more deeply to find and identify the symbols and patterns of the homeland's culture. Negro immigrants are admitted in such small numbers that they find their way almost unnoticed into groups and situations that have existed for years. Here the old heritage has been so modified and the influence of the newcomer is so slight, that the differences between the "new" and "old" immigrant are not at once evident.

However, the Negro immigrant group presents a field for the analysis of these processes of accommodation and assimilation. While it is generally accepted that individuals reared in one culture and migrating to another can never be completely absorbed in the new culture, it is noticeable that the old culture fades more and more as time goes on, and that there is always a residue of habits, ideas, points of view and ways of doing things which are never completely changed. For this reason, a great many of the adjustments that the Negro foreign-born population faces are compromises or accommodations. Sufficient changes take place to permit the newcomer to live under new conditions without coming into open conflict with them, but the resultant behavior is something new. No better example of this behavior exists than that indicated in the rise and development of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association.

But the interesting factor of adjustment,

the factor that distinguishes the adjustment of Negro immigrants from that of white immigrants, lies in the foreign-born Negro's dual adjustment, involving not only a reorganization of status in terms of the intra-racial relations, but also a recognition of the inter-racial processes in this country. Every foreign-born Negro must readjust the concepts of "class" and "caste" to which he has been accustomed in terms of the United States' racial pattern. He has left a setting where he was one of the subjugated majority, or a hybrid status thereof, to come to one where he is one of the underprivileged racial minority, which is permitted no hybrid status.

The Negro immigrant enters the United States without benefit of official support from his native island. Moving into a few centers of Negro population in large numbers, threatening the existing order of racial things, he lays the foundation for conflict. One factor only prevents the conflict from becoming intense, the visibility of Negro immigrants is low. Except for those who are Spanish and Portuguese-speaking, and who usually move into their own language groups, the external characteristics are the same. Looking alike, they are not inherently isolated; differing in mores they are isolated.

The first contacts of the native and foreign-born Negro groups are not of the conflict type. They are accompanied by the usual fear, uncertainty, and curiosity. There tends to be a symbiotic, categoric type of contact, which later becomes a social relation. The nature of the initial relationship determines the nature of future relationships. The first clashes between the native and foreign-born Negro involve questions of status. These are temporarily accommodated. As the immigrant is numerically weaker, he is forced to subordinate his wishes and desires to

those of the majority group. But this group that comes over for economic and utilitarian purposes soon seeks status, recognition, position, and prestige within the existing political and moral order. This struggle is at the root of such conflict as exists between the native and foreign-born Negro.

The culture of the Negro immigrant is not able to survive the intensity of the resultant subtle conflict, whether it be reflected in the term "monkey-chaser," the aspersion cast upon the Garvey movement, or the effort to have foreign-born Negroes deported. As a result the culture of the immigrant tends to disintegrate. The partial isolation set up by the conflict makes necessary a greater dependence upon the native Negro group. The immigrant must reevaluate his culture in terms of his needs, and satisfy these needs in terms of the native Negro's cultural adaptation. As, and if, these various immigrant cultures break, the Negro immigrant becomes a part of the native Negro community. This process is followed more readily by the English-speaking Negro group than by those of other languages. But most important in the whole process of adjustment is the fact that while the Negro immigrant may rise in the economic scale by coming to the United States, he loses status as an individual and seeks to acquire a new status, which, while more profitable in facilitating economic adjustment, is wont to promote personal disorganization and additional conflict.

Early in the conflict between the two groups there tends to rise the intra-group counterpart of what Park calls the "marginal" man. This is the immigrant who first loses the traditional and externally obvious aspects of his culture and assimilates the standards of the larger and predominant group. The immigrant is not marginal if he is accepted by the native-

born but he frequently is not so readily accepted. Under such conditions he is neither completely foreign-born nor native in terms of the culture. As was frequently the case during the 1920's, failure to acquire status so easily leads to the immigrant-consciousness, to the immigrant rebellion against being treated as a pariah. If he is a person who has previously enjoyed high social status, or who is capable of influencing the masses, he articulates the group's grievances. As the group experiences the same treatment he becomes a leader, and foreign-born consciousness and movements, such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association, arise. Thus, Garvey aided and abetted the process of the intra-group conflict, but he did not initiate it.

In defense, the native-born group develops and formulates stereotypes, myths and ideologies justifying its superiority over the immigrant, and designs methods to insure it. Any myth that will give credence to its ideology is employed. Prejudices arise as the immigrant menaces the partially accommodated status of the native-born. Such reactions in course produce a sentiment of nationality consciousness, which is reflected in one instance by a double-reverse method of universal black unity—Back to Africa, and in others by immigrant solidarity, pride, and national loyalties. All of these, of course, are directed toward securing status and rights. The problem becomes complicated because in the alignment of issues the status and rights of the immigrant have usually been higher and greater "back home" than in the United States. Nevertheless this conflict indicates the indefiniteness of the "place" to which the Negro immigrant is assigned, not by the white population, but by the native Negro group.

The problem is further complicated by

the tendency of the native group to lump all Negroes of foreign birth in one group. Virgin Islanders with American citizenship rate no higher in group evaluation than the Jamaican, a British subject. The conflict between native and foreign-born therefore becomes not one of race—but of absorption and assimilation in the common culture and the social order. In this study we have endeavored to identify some of the elements present in the problem of the Negro immigrant and his adjustment—elements that give it dimension. The statistical facts in themselves give no adequate interpretation of the problem. Equally as important are the attitudes and interests maintained by each group—what they think about themselves and what they think about the others.

The most significant differences between the native and foreign-born Negro groups are those of social backgrounds. These differences run the gamut of human experience and include the variations in the social settings of immigrant and native. Of particular moment in this connection is the immigrant's background of either a tripartite color system, or one where color was not a primary social factor.

The immigrant is brought into a relatively isolated, partially assimilated Negro group in which he becomes part and parcel of a socially restricted population. Neither the immigrant nor the native is accepted as part of the dominant white society. The former having been more accustomed to fuller participation reacts more drastically than does the more accommodated native-born. In gaining greater economic security, with restricted occupational mobility, he has sacrificed the rights of broad social participation. The immigrant moving from an area where he was the racial, if not the economic, dominant majority adjusts less easily to the fish net-like separation of the races

in the United States. Diverse cultural heritages tend to accentuate the maladjustments. As social relations and artificial values develop, the intra-racial prejudices develop, the process being no different from that obtaining in other forms of social contact between groups of diverse cultural backgrounds.

The presence of these two groups in the same area presents interesting parallels. The native-born Negro's church has been an agency of racial reform headed by his own leaders, emphasizing racial respect and programs for social reform. It was a tremendous integrating force, void of formalism, full of emotion. The formalism of the immigrant's church served as a compensation for the social disabilities he experienced. Pastored chiefly by non-Negroes it rigidly adhered to the ritualistic service, avoided championing causes of immediate import, was dignified, aloof and "respectable." The change is being experienced in the transplanted immigrant's church, for if it would survive it must meet the problems of its members.

Each group lacked social solidarity with the societal whole and developed mutual benefit societies—but their relative importance within each group is significant. Among the immigrants, at home or abroad, the mutual benefit principle is still important; at home because of the absence of insurance and the persistence of economic-social relations within the primary groups; abroad, because of the change of habitat and the need for mutual protection. The development of the insurance principle in the United States made great inroads into the native Negro's benefit societies, and was offset only by an increasing mobility after 1920. The survival rate of the native group's societies however is lower than that of the immigrant's. The "Sons and Daughters" of Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina

wane as the local interests of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania increase.

Each group tends to find a vicarious comfort in the influence exerted on the affairs of the other. The development of cultural interests by the immigrant group particularly, is pursued in part because of the interest itself, and in part as a defense of its insecure position. There is pride in the memory of the late comedian Bert Williams as a West Indian almost equal to the appreciation of his great art. The names of Denmark Vesey who led "the most elaborate insurrectionary project ever formed by American slaves, and came the nearest to a terrible success;" John B. Russwurm, the first college graduate and the first Negro newspaper publisher; Marcus Garvey, in his hey-day; Peter Jackson, of boxing fame; Casper Holstein, the Virgin Island philanthropist; Matzenger, the inventor; Samuel Ward, co-worker with Garrison and Lovejoy; Robert Brown Elliott, attorney general, speaker of the State assembly and twice elected representative from South Carolina in the United States Congress during Reconstruction; Peter Ogden, organizer of the first Odd Fellows Lodge for Negroes in New York City; Prince Hall, founder of Free Masonry among Negroes in the United States; Arthur A. Schomburg, foremost bibliophile; Edward W. Blyden, former Liberian Minister to London; Claude McKay, the poet-novelist; Judge James S. Watson—and others, become important to the nationality-conscious immigrant as much because they represent foreign-born Negroes who "made good," as because of their achievements. Pride in having representatives who have punctured the larger universal becomes an important constructive force not only in facilitating the participation in the general culture, but also in perpetuating the group in isolation. Their leaders, even as do the native

Negro's and the white immigrant's, tend to become the Moses or the Messiah of the group's interests.

The Negro immigrant is beyond a doubt more radical than the native. He was more radical in his various home islands; the mere emigration therefrom indicated a break with certain traditional values. But protests against social and economic conditions are more pronounced among groups not so adjusted to their peculiar functioning in the new country. Furthermore, the West Indian immigrant has long fostered a movement to provide better, more representative government for the islands. The fight for federation of the British possessions; the historic importance of Hayti's rebellion and consequent status as the first republic of the Antilles; the representation in Paris of the French Islands; the Virgin Islander's fight for political freedom, representation, better government, and, now, home-rule; the chaotic uprisings in Puerto Rico—all these have engendered in the immigrant a sympathetic and aggressive attitude on matters of internal difficulty, and have led him to wonder why twelve million Negroes can not get a mere anti-lynching bill through the Congress. In the States the programs the Negro immigrants originate are seldom those with economic radicalism, but a racial radicalism to stimulate group pride and group solidarity.

The traditional background of the Negro immigrant varies from that of the native-born in other ways. The institutions of the state, religion—even public opinion—have exercised a much more rigid and uniform control over the immigrant. In the areas of greatest Negro concentration in the United States, the Negro's historical experience has been that the law and public opinion served to arrest rather than promote his complete adjustment. Here not only does the individual

come more frequently into contact with the agencies of the law, but there is less respect for the institution. Thus, personal problems involving standards for children become important in the parent-child relationship of the immigrant family. "Back home," questions of morals would have been covered by the mores—here those mores are repudiated. Does not the child become non-foreign by so doing? Thus the child of foreign-born parents, or the immigrant child is subject to a double social maladjustment because of the self-consciousness of being Negro and West Indian. These conditions affect the maladjusted adult as well. Each tends to become resentful—and not to "know his place" in inter-racial relations. But while this failure to be or to stay "put" may be a liability and cause loss of status in Negro-white relations, it makes for position and prestige within the racial minorities—foreign-born and native-born—and with the "radical" groups.

The intra-group cleavages are accentuated by the presence of an immigrant population. While all Negroes as a horizontal group may rank a wee bit lower than the whites, the racial group has a vertical stratification with numerous horizontal levels. Within the native Negro group these gradations are of several types.

1. Those who have achieved financial success.
2. Those who have high occupational ranking, particularly in fields where there are few Negroes.
3. Those who are in the public eye.
4. The "Race Leaders."

Many Negro immigrants must go into a mental reverse to accept such stratification, for many of the positions and occupations regarded as important in the United States would be frowned upon in the homeland—being a policeman, for example. Furthermore, unrestricted mo-

bility in the Negro group permits the sharecropper's son to become a leading luminary in the Negro world. This would not have been so possible in a color-class strictured society. One West Indian commented as follows upon the naming of a prominent man of foreign birth to an important public post—"Why the very idea! I would not even deign to speak to the fellow at home."

Even as do the white immigrants, the Negro immigrants, particularly the British West Indians, bring a zest for learning that is not typical of the native-born population; high schools and colleges in New York City have an unusually high foreign-born Negro representation. Between 1867 and 1932 Howard University had more than one thousand West Indians in its student body. It seems a justifiable opinion that Negroes, foreign and native, and Jews have developed an almost exaggerated interest in higher education, as an avenue of escape equal to the accumulation of wealth. About the West Indian Negro, particularly, there has arisen the highly exaggerated and mistaken notion that he is naturally "smarter," and more intelligent than the native Negro. And though Smith has pointed out that "the scholarship of the West Indian student in proportion to his numbers has been above average,"<sup>1</sup> this may mean nothing more than that the West Indian students are a more highly selected group than the native-born. The selective migration of the better educated West Indians has been a factor in the relatively high proportion of honors they have obtained in schools of the United States.

The racial amalgam represented by the native-born and the West Indian Negro is probably the most heterogeneous stock in

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Edgar Smith, "West Indians on the Campus." *Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life*, Vol. 11, No. 8, pp. 238-241, August, 1933.

the world. Yet the learned reactions of the particular geographical and cultural settings have such deep emotional content that actions which do not conform to the prevailing norms arouse immediate and violent emotional reactions from people who live in the culture in which immigrants are prevalent. Thus, the native-born Negro's reaction to the immigrant ways is immediate and sometimes violent. One simply does not do things that way, he says. It is not in accord with the unconscious scheme of behavior he has acquired. The Negro immigrant therefore must learn to adjust himself to the new cultural environment, if he would survive. And even if he only superficially accepts the current mores, and, although his temporary isolation may bring about the creation of special cultural forms and practices within his own group, he realizes that he can only succeed as he adapts himself to the larger, the dominant, culture.

But one question, more or less academic, remains unanswered for the color-class conscious foreign-born Negro—why do native-born Negroes object to stratification on the basis of color-class when it is practiced in their everyday lives, within and without the group? So far there has been only one overt reply, the rise of "black nationalism," which has not only advocated the non-patronage of concerns not employing Negroes, but has openly and vigilantly, with fang and claw, opposed the affiliation of Negroes with the various associations of the Socialist and Communist groups whose racial appeals are based upon the uniting of white and black workers. Meanwhile,

the movement for naturalization continues. The barring of aliens from employment on public works, proposals frequently advanced for excluding aliens from relief rolls, are considerations which impel the Negro alien to seek naturalization. Recent European disturbances and the anomalous conditions of English affairs in India and Africa have led many to the conclusion that naturalization in the United States may be the better part.

All in all, the presence of a foreign Negro population has broadened the social vision of the native group. It has fostered and compelled unity and has certainly accelerated progress. The complexities of social process have obtained within the Negro group in more intricate variety than are even known in the predominant white group. And interestingly enough, the attitudes of that predominant white group exercise little influence upon these complexities and conditionings, except that the inter-racial prejudices and acts of suppression may increase the very qualities against which they are directed, and help to speed up the very forces of aggressiveness and self-assertion in the direction that prejudice would suppress them. For here is an activity in social process that is born of injustices faced by the Negro group and of its partial accommodation to the predominant culture. And while these injustices and this partial accommodation may present tragic consequences for the individual, and temporary maladjustments for the group, they represent the race's one real and vital asset, determining the future character of social relationships between the races.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

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### TRENDS IN COUNTY GOVERNMENT\*

JAMES E. PATE

*College of William and Mary*

**S**EVEN years ago it required a considerable optimist to see any signs of progress in county government.<sup>1</sup> The South was taking the lead, as she had once before pointed the way toward the two most popular forms of municipal government. In 1930 there were 10 counties that had expanded the powers of one of their officers—clerk, auditor, or chairman of the county board into some semblance of a responsible executive. Five of these counties were in North Carolina, and five in Virginia.

In 1932 there were signs of unrest in the counties.<sup>2</sup> The farmers were justifiably dissatisfied with the cost of a government that was returning few services. Tax payers were organizing without any effort at all. The dark days of the depression offered a rare opportunity for prescient leaders to tie governmental reforms in with the universal and natural clamor for tax reduction. It was quite evident that the people were ready to listen to proposed changes in the structure and prac-

\* An address before Southern Political Science Association, Chapel Hill, November 6, 1937.

<sup>1</sup> P. W. Wager and H. P. Jones, "Signs of Progress in County Government," 19 *National Municipal Review*, p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> H. P. Jones, "Unrest in County Government," 21 *National Municipal Review*, pp. 133, 469.

tice of government that promised relief from the tax burden. They were ready to sell local self-government for tax reduction.

By 1934 we were able to record some progress in county government.<sup>3</sup> The manager idea was making more headway. Six counties in the United States had adopted a plan that approximated the manager system. Three of these were in Virginia, two in California, and one in North Carolina. County mergers were discussed, but nothing was being done about it. In some places functional consolidations were carried out. Commissions on county government were at work in several commonwealths. There were instances of improved business practices in local governments. Mr. Howard Jones, Editor of the *National Municipal Review*, expressed the trend in optimistic terms: "Four years ago no one was interested in county government but a few political scientists and one or two newspaper editors. Today it is as common a topic of conversation as the next European War and almost as exciting. The lone reformer is now a general at the head of his troops. And the campaign promises much."

<sup>3</sup> H. P. Jones, "Progress in County Government," 23 *National Municipal Review*, p. 502.

Following Mr. Jones' military analogy, I might add that the general has had many reverses in his offensive against the citadel of inefficiency in government. In the county his great obstacles have been the inertia and political backwardness of the people which has been a great help to the intrenched office holders in their fight to prevent change. When the record is scanned for the past seven years of this campaign, it is found that the captains of reform in local government have suffered more defeats than they have won victories. In North Carolina, for instance, we have seen the trend toward centralization go so far as to make discussion of reform in the structure of county government an idle topic. In Virginia responsible executive government has won only two victories and has suffered five defeats at the polls. Ohio's fine start in introducing structural reforms by way of home rule was stopped, 1934, by defeat of three among four charters submitted to the people. Cuyahoga County's charter received a majority at the polls, only to be set aside by the State Supreme Court on grounds that it had not been properly ratified by the electorate.<sup>4</sup> In Nebraska the State Supreme Court has stopped Douglas County's manager plan by declaring unconstitutional the optional county manager law, on grounds that all county officers must be elected by the people.<sup>5</sup> In Texas we see a damper thrown on the home rule movement by defeat of the El Paso County Charter.<sup>6</sup>

This catalog of defeats could be continued. But let us see how the campaign goes on each important salient—centralization, structural reforms, and areal changes.

<sup>4</sup> *Municipal Year Book*, 1936, p. 118; *25 National Municipal Review*, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1937, p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1935, p. 110.

CENTRALIZATION BY TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

One of the most persistent trends in county government is the flow of functions and of power to the State. The breakdown of the general property tax has facilitated this flow.<sup>7</sup> Segregation of sources of revenue, now in use in Virginia and other States, has aided it. An appeal to the spirit for local self-government has not been able to stop it. Our recent experience in North Carolina and Virginia shows that the people are quite willing to trade venerable doctrines for the more material blessings of life. It is true that the principle of local self-government forced the political leaders of the ancient commonwealth that early won repute as defender of the faith as expressed in the twin principles of States' rights and local self-government to attempt to reconcile the trend toward centralization with local autonomy. Senator Byrd, partly responsible for the State taking over the county roads in 1931, said: "It is not an invasion of local self-government, as roads do not begin and do not end in the counties but are continuous highways, connecting with other counties." As a further concession to the spirit of home rule the Senator agreed to an amendment which provided that a county by a vote of its electorate might exempt itself from State control. This argument is logical enough, but the trouble is it is too logical. It might be used to justify the centralization of other functions. And as for that matter, I do not see why the same line of reasoning does not justify a considerable transfer of State functions to Federal jurisdiction.

States' rights and local self-government are therefore definitely on the defensive and both are declining. Any hope for return of functions once taken over by the

<sup>7</sup> K. H. Porter, "Property Taxes—the Doom of the County," *24 National Municipal Review*, 144.

State is shattered by reports of the success of centralization in those commonwealths. The secondary road system has been improved. While North Carolina's initial experience with the schools was depressing, recent reports are brighter for the future of State responsibility for an eight months' school term.<sup>8</sup> The success of State control of local indebtedness was shown last year, 1936, when the North Carolina Local Government Commission reduced the number of defaulting counties from 62 to 20.<sup>9</sup> Favorable reports like these have reconciled most people to the loss of the older functions of the county—roads, education, and dependency. The sorry condition of county and town jails in Virginia and the recent jail fires in which prisoners were incinerated have created an opinion which if sufficiently guided will result in abolishing these holes of iniquity which compete with the poor-house as symbols of the decadence of local government. However, above the smoke of the dying county we hear an optimistic voice: "Local governments will continue. . . . There are plenty of services for them to perform." There is hope therefore that new functions and leaders will revitalize the county.

Among new functions which State legislatures have recently authorized counties to undertake are: to acquire land for parks and recreational purposes; to establish and maintain airports; to operate electric utility plants; to erect county hospitals; to provide terracing machinery to be rented to farmers; planning and zoning; to establish county libraries; cooperation with State and Federal government in welfare administration.<sup>10</sup> Three of these,

<sup>8</sup> John Peele, "The State Runs the Schools in North Carolina," *26 National Municipal Review*, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> *26 National Municipal Review*, p. 143.

<sup>10</sup> C. F. Snider, "County and Township Government in 1935-36," *American Political Science Review*, 31, p. 894.

the last three named, especially deserve mention in a survey of recent trends.

In 1933, Oneida County, Wisconsin, was the first in the United States to zone its land for agriculture, forestry, and recreation.<sup>11</sup> Other Wisconsin counties have followed this lead. Ten other States, Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia, in the South, have passed acts enabling counties to zone. In only three States, however, are the zoning laws being applied. One of these is Hamilton County, Tennessee. County planning, a similar function, is growing, particularly in the Western and Southern States. There are 400 county planning boards in the United States.<sup>12</sup> Each Florida county now has a planning council, set up by the State planning board.<sup>13</sup> In Oregon the planning boards have mapped out a particularly ambitious program.<sup>14</sup> A distinguished student on local government has expressed the significance of this new function, as follows: "This development is significant because planning boards and master plans offer hope of restoring vigor and purpose to county government. In exchange for the loss of traditional functions. . . . There is provided an opportunity to apply the genius of local government to the conservation of natural and human resources and to the attainment of esthetic and cultural objectives."<sup>15</sup>

In the next place, I should like to call to your attention the possibilities that lie in the development of county libraries. The parish libraries established in Louisiana with the cooperation of the Louisiana

<sup>11</sup> M. C. Trackett, "Rural Zoning in Wisconsin," *25 National Municipal Review*, p. 609.

<sup>12</sup> L. S. Greene, "The Progress of County Government Reform in Wisconsin," *American Political Science Review*, 30, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *The Municipal Year Book*, 1937. p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> *26 National Municipal Review*, p. 145.

<sup>16</sup> P. W. Wager, "County Government," *Municipal Year Book*, 1936, p. 120.

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Library and the Carnegie  
Corporation are particularly worthy of  
observation. The executive secretary of  
the Louisiana Library Commission wrote  
me, October 14, that their most recent  
development is a tri-parish library estab-  
lished with the cooperation of three  
parishes, "which before had no public  
libraries of any kind and no book store.  
Since its opening, June 12th, the 30,000  
white population have read over 50,000  
books and have asked for information on  
every conceivable subject, we sometimes  
think. This office supplements the local  
collections, lending as many books as  
requested, if they are available or can be  
bought. A bookmobile reaches remote  
communities."<sup>13</sup> There were, two years  
ago, six parish libraries. Sabine, a typical  
Louisiana rural parish, with a population  
of 24,000 has a library supported by the  
parish school board. In 1935, there was a  
book circulation of over 100,000 among  
nearly 11,000 book borrowers of Sabine  
parish.

The recent trend in social security legis-  
lation has possibilities of reviving public  
welfare as a local function. It is the opinion  
of many experts that the success of the  
social security program lies in its adminis-  
tration at the community level—whatever  
that means. At least, this recognition of  
the necessity for decentralization in the  
administration of a new governmental  
function raises the hope of those who de-  
sire to see the spirit of local self-govern-  
ment revived. A decentralized plan of  
operation which vitalizes local interest by  
a matching plan for the care of the needy  
aged, the blind, and dependent children  
calls for county boards of public welfare

<sup>12</sup> Courtesy of Essie M. Culver (executive secretary) Louisiana Library Commission. See also Biennial Reports of Louisiana Library Commission; and Reports on Louisiana Library Demonstration. (1925-30).

to receive applicants. This is a gain, even  
if there is administrative supervision from  
the top.

These three—planning, libraries, and  
cooperation for social security—are merely  
illustrations to show that new functions  
rising to take the place of old ones taken  
over by the State will always necessitate  
local governments to perform local func-  
tions. In other words there is room for  
government at the grass roots which is no  
more vague an expression than "at the  
community level," or local self-govern-  
ment. I am rather convinced, by this  
time, that the "self" might be eliminated  
from the last expression. I cannot see  
the place of that word in any other scheme  
of existence outside John Locke's moderate  
but highly inconvenient state of nature.

As just mentioned, there are those who  
do not mourn the transfer to the State of  
the older county functions. As a matter  
of fact, they would not mourn the passing  
of the county. While speaking of mourn-  
ing, I am reminded of the Virginia Com-  
mission of Conservation and Develop-  
ment's recent announcement of plans to  
place a historic marker on every court  
house green in Virginia. Following this  
announcement, a sincere mourner ex-  
pressed himself on the editorial page of the  
Richmond News Leader, as follows:

The markers which the Conservation Commission  
plans to place at every county courthouse in the  
Commonwealth will be a convenience to the traveler  
interested in history, but they may sadden some of the  
natives who remember the days before county govern-  
ment declined to its present unhappy state.

Poverty-stricken because of exhausted land and  
the emigration of people to the cities, deprived of  
many powers by legislatures lately intolerant of  
inefficiency, too small to maintain an adequate  
service to their taxpayers in this mile-a-minute age,  
many Virginia counties are hollow husks.

On some of the courthouse greens, the new markers  
will be monuments to the memory of local self-  
government.

## CENTRALIZATION BY ADMINISTRATIVE SUPERVISION

But we are not quite ready to dispose of the county. There are several other trends to review. There is, for instance, that very pronounced trend toward centralization without an outright transfer of functions. I mean by this, the extension of State administrative supervision over local functions. This trend is portrayed most interestingly in central administrative control of local finance. Much could be said about this movement. A brief summary will suffice in this place.

The South, particularly North Carolina and Virginia, has been in the lead here. This trend has taken such forms as State administered locally-shared taxes,<sup>17</sup> and grants-in-aid. As is well known, the latter when applied to State-local relations has the same effect as the same principle on the Federal-State level, that is, central supervision goes with the money. Other phases of the movement to establish closer State control of local finance are seen in: (1) mandatory budget acts; (2) acts prescribing uniform local accounting; (3) supervision of local indebtedness; (4) State audit of local accounts. As noted, North Carolina has been prominent in supervision of local indebtedness. This State, as Dr. Kilpatrick says, has made an outstanding contribution in the vigorous "trying out of new techniques during a period when routine and lethargy marked too wide an area of American State administration." Central audit of local accounts has been the most spectacular and beneficial of State-local relations in Virginia. "This commonwealth," the same authority just quoted, says "...typifies the more progressive financial relations between State and local governments

in that the State assumes the responsibility, too often avoided by States, for firm supervision of local finance without subjecting communities to straight-jacketing by rigorous control."<sup>18</sup> The most striking advance in supervisory control of local finance, Dr. Kilpatrick goes on to say, "is found in the Southern States with the border States of Kentucky and Missouri thrown in for good measure. One or more supervisory techniques, each modest in itself but impressive in a cumulative total for the region, have been introduced into the Southern counties."<sup>18</sup>

Administrative supervision of local functions by State departments of education, health, and public welfare need no discussion in this place. There are scholars who would tie up all those local officers with State departments performing similar functions. This fits in quite well with the view that emphasizes the county as an administrative unit of the State government. Those who stress this view deprecate the introduction of managers in county government, as we shall see in a moment.

We see therefore two trends in State-county relations—one that transfers the older local functions to the State; the other that allows county administration of local functions subject to State administrative supervision. Another trend should be noted. It is the mildest of the three, and may appropriately be called State-local cooperation. It is illustrated by such contacts of State and local officers as occur in annual associations; in giving advice; in the loan of expert personnel for purchasing, budgeting; cooperation in working out joint programs; and compiling lists of eligibles from which nominations for local offices are taken.

The depression introduced the counties

<sup>17</sup> R. Uhl and V. Shea, *The Municipal Year Book*, 1936, p. 367.

<sup>18</sup> *The Municipal Year Book*, 1936, pp. 347-50.

to the Federal Government. Mississippi, for instance, has authorized the creation of districts to cooperate with the Federal Government in flood control work; Alabama has authorized local agencies to contract with the Federal Government for electric power; North Carolina counties are authorized to cooperate in federal housing projects.<sup>19</sup> In other words the counties, as well as the State's municipal children are now looking to Washington. It will be interesting to see how far the trend goes. Some observers believe that it is likely to be permanent, and will, therefore, create a three-way lane of communication among Federal, State, and local governments.

Administrative supervision is an encroaching kind of control over local autonomy. It may lead to the more drastic transfer of functions which if carried far enough will certainly destroy the county as a useful unit for local government. It is very likely, however, that the more rigid type of State interference as found in legislative enactments and constitutional limitations is responsible for the movement to regain local autonomy by home rule or by the optional county government laws. Home rule has made headway in some States. Home rule is so clearly adapted to the urban county that it could have no place in a discussion of the rural county which, I gather, is the greater problem in the South.

#### THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Several States have enacted optional county government laws. . . . The most far reaching act of this kind was passed in 1937 by the New York legislature. This law allows a choice from among five plans of government: county manager; county president, which provides for a popular

elected executive who shall have the veto and responsibility for administration; council-manager; council president; and a selective plan which is eclectic in that it allows a county to choose the best features from all four of the plans.<sup>20</sup>

One of the main purposes of laws providing optional forms of government is to enable counties to modernize the structure of their governments. They have rather astutely, I believe, compromised between the principle of home rule and the evident need for guidance from the State toward desirable structural changes. At the present writing, however, the 3068 counties in the United States remain indifferent. They are not rushing headlong to get on a county manager bandwagon. The responsible executive government has had more downs than ups. In Virginia, as noted, it has won two victories since passage of the optional government law and has received five defeats. At the present, 1937, there are only seven county governments in the United States that have any resemblance to the manager system. Three of these are in Virginia, two in California, one in North Carolina, and one in New York.

Progress of the manager idea has been slow because of the opposition of local office holders. Leaders in the movement toward improving local governmental structure have had to fight their way over this opposition, as, at the same time, they have had to carry on a campaign of popular education. Professor Fox of Randolph-Macon College, who has had more than an academic interest in this campaign for better local government, recently stirred the editorial pages of the Virginia press by laying the responsibility for the slow progress of the manager system in Virginia at the door of the dominant po-

<sup>19</sup> C. F. Snider, *op. cit.*, p. 912.

<sup>20</sup> 26 *National Municipal Review*, p. 110, *Municipal Year Book*, 1937, p. 114.

litical party. The party's answer might have been something like this. Did we not pass the enabling act, and did not Governor Pollard take an active interest in the movement by appointing a continuous commission on county government which continues to be continuously active despite the recent act of the General Assembly in cutting off its appropriation.

Progress reports from those counties that have adopted the manager plan indicate success, that is, if success in government is measured by the material standards of efficiency and economy. The recent slogan of Henrico County, Virginia—43 per cent more services at 3 per cent less taxes was too powerful to beat. There are, however, besides the court house politicians, scholars who eye critically the manager government. They believe that the manager propaganda is much ado about nothing because the predominant trend toward centralization leaves little for a manager to manage. This argument is valid, of course, only in the rural county. Again the manager government is under suspect because it is an unnatural intrusion into a perfectly natural trend toward a closer alignment of State-local functions. It is pointed out that the manager will disturb the relations that are being established between the State departments and those local officers performing similar functions.<sup>21</sup> This may be a specious argument, but after all the county is the State's agent for performing functions which are becoming fundamentally state-wide in scope.

#### AREAL CHANGES

This leads to the consideration of trends in county consolidation. If the county, so the argument goes, is too small and too

<sup>21</sup> L. W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America*, p. 393.

poor it should merge with a wealthy neighbor or join several poor ones in order to provide an economic area sufficient to support the form of government that experience shows best for efficient performance of local functions. County consolidation takes two forms: (1) complete merger of two or more adjoining counties; (2) a joint agreement to cooperate in performance of certain functions, which is called functional consolidation.

Territorial consolidation of counties has been discussed in over three-fourths of the States. This year, 1937, it is the most talked about of all reforms in county government, but complete mergers have occurred in only two instances—both of these in the South. In Tennessee, James County, a rural county, at its request was merged with the urban county of Hamilton, without the latter's request. James got the better of the bargain. The other consolidation took place in Georgia, when two adjoining counties were merged with urban Fulton County. Again the rural counties benefited.<sup>22</sup> Mergers of this kind are not popular among strictly rural counties. A paper on the Eastern Shore of Virginia declared that the trend will call for consolidation, but when it comes the National Guard will have to be called out to keep order.<sup>23</sup> In a recent note,<sup>24</sup> I selected the inveigling title "Back to the Original Shire," thinking that these good people might be persuaded to go back to something provided it is a fairly faithful reproduction of the original. I think, also, we might be absolved of sacrilegious motives if we could convince the people (excepting the county office-holders) that

<sup>22</sup> J. T. Askew, "Will Counties Merge?" *23 National Municipal Review*, p. 520; *23 National Municipal Review*, p. 279.

<sup>23</sup> Jeffries Heinrich, "County Reorganization Stirr Old Dominion," *22 National Municipal Review*, p. 445.

<sup>24</sup> *Virginia Municipal Review*, Feb. 1934.

a consolidation would not impair their county names, but the names of Warwick, York, James City, and Charles City would still remain to designate representative districts which have no governmental function.

There are numerous examples of functional consolidation. In Virginia, for instance, there are, at present, combinations of counties into 10 joint health districts, 14 school districts, 34 judicial circuits, and 4 district alms houses which have replaced 20 county homes. This movement has little opposition from county officers, because it is least disturbing to the status quo. Functional consolidation also has considerable merit. The tying up of adjoining counties for specific performances may create a chaos of uncoordinated areas. But this alleged fault may likewise lead to a redefining of local areas in terms that will reconcile the spirit for local self-government with efficient performance of function. Such a movement, however, holds more promise if carried out with the cooperation of State departments and local agencies affected.

#### CONCLUSION

A survey of recent trends shows three things that have grown out of the efforts to improve county government: (1) the elements of reform; (2) a technique of reform; and (3) a purpose, or final end.

As we have seen, the elements that make up the movement to improve local government are: (1) centralization by transfer of functions to the State; (2) local performance of functions under State administrative supervision; (3) improved governmental practices usually brought about by the State's initiative; (4) changes in form of government; (5) unifying of local areas by county mergers, or by functional consolidation.

The technique of reform is now fairly visible. We see county government commissions doing the preliminary spade work. Following this, leaders have emerged in legislative chambers to initiate amendments necessary to enable the legislature to pass laws to enable the counties to act. We see the captains of reform in the field directing the campaign; incidentally they are nightmares to the county officers. Local leaders have developed to organize citizens leagues which sponsor a campaign of popular education on behalf of reform.

The purpose of reform, however, is not so clear. Our attention is called especially to those symbols: efficiency and economy, and local self-government. We invariably praise the county manager system because of its efficiency and economy. Forty-three per cent more services at 3 per cent less taxes sounds good. No one will say, of course, that government should be run in any other way but efficiently and economically. If a government meets that test, it is good. Therefore the county-manager plan is the best government. But one may well question whether the standard of success of a private business is equally as good for the government. It is a shame that out of deference to the standards of business success, the symbols efficiency and economy have been raised as if they were the final end of government among men.

If efficiency and economy are our aim in the reform of county government, we should stop fooling ourselves; we should end our propaganda for radical changes in the form of county government; we should use our talent to get the older functions of local government transferred to the State, and bring the remainder under close State administrative supervision. In this direction lies greater economy and efficiency in

performance of those governmental functions that have ceased to be local, or those that lie on the border line between the county and the State.

Every once and a while, one hears of local self-government, but no one knows what that is. It is an intangible, invisible object existing only in the contemplation of the office-holders. I am reasonably

sure that the rural citizen of our Southern counties is not stirred by the spirit for local self-government. He is stirred by his annual tax bill, which goes to the court house to be distributed among those who enjoy the fruits of local self-government. But, I am far from being convinced that this noble expression is not the principal reason for our effort to save the county.

### SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

#### THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

*Hotel Patten, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1-2, 1938*

The program for the Third Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society has just been released from the office of the President, Dr. Rupert B. Vance. One main session and eight sectional meetings will feature the following papers:

**MAIN SESSION:** *Welcome to the Society*, Dr. Alexander Guerry, President of the University of Chattanooga; *Sociology for the South*, Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; *Inventions as a Cause of Social Change*, Dr. William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago.

**THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY:** *The Status of Sociology in the South*, Frank W. Hoffer, University of Virginia; *An Analysis of the Content and Registration Trends in Introductory Sociology Courses*, Paul Foreman, University of Mississippi; *Qualifications of Teachers of Sociology in the South*, Delbert M. Mann, Scarritt College.

**SOCIAL WORK AND PUBLIC WELFARE:** *The Profession of Social Work in the South*, Stuart Jaffray, Tulane University; *The Training of Negro Social Workers in the South*, Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta School of Social Work; *The In-Service Training of Public Welfare Workers*, Wilma Van Dusseldorf, Georgia State Department of Public Welfare; *Research in Progress and Available Data for Research in State Departments of Public Welfare*, Wiley B. Sanders, University of North Carolina.

**RURAL SOCIOLOGY:** *The Problem of the Under-privileged Farmer in the South*, W. W. Alexander, Director, Farm Security Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture; *The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South and Desirable Steps for Its More Adequate Development*, B. Youngblood, Office of Experiment Stations, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture; *The Housing Problem in the Rural South*, S. H. Hobbs, University of North Carolina.

**RACE AND CULTURE:** *Cultural Assimilation Among the Acadians of Louisiana*, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University; *Fear and Hostility in Social Life*, John Dollard, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University; *Some Aspects of Caste in the South*, Allison Davis, Dillard University; *An Interracial Triangle in Robeson County*, North Carolina, Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina.

**SOCIAL RESEARCH:** *Social Research in the South*, Report of the Committee on Research; *Brief Reports on Research Projects: Statistical Analysis of Certain Mental Disorders Among Whites and Negroes in Georgia*, J. E. Greene, University of Georgia; *Plantations in the Pacific Area*, Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University;

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### COMPETITION VS. COOPERATION

KIMBALL YOUNG

*University of Wisconsin*

COMPETITION AND COOPERATION. By Mark A. May and Leonard W. Doob. Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 25. New York: Social Science Research Council, April 1937. iii + 191 pp. \$1.00.

MEMORANDUM ON RESEARCH IN COMPETITION AND COOPERATION. Prepared by Members of the Sub-Committee on Competition and Cooperation. New York: Social Science Research Council, April 1937. 389 pp. Mimeographed.

These reports were prepared as one part of the work of the Committee on Personality and Culture set up by the Social Science Research Council. The aim of this subcommittee was to summarize and interpret the scientific work done on the problem of competition and cooperation in the fields of experimental psychology (conceived in a broad and somewhat loose sense), of sociology, and of anthropology. The Bulletin is an attempt to state what seem to May and Doob certain fundamental postulates and propositions growing out of these investigations and a statement of particular problems for future research.

The fundamental aim of the Bulletin is to examine the relationship of individual interaction—in terms of competition or cooperation—to the wider societal and cultural world in which this occurs. Unfortunately, the terms competition and cooperation do not have precise meanings. Among other matters, the authors believe that one must clearly distinguish between the objective or overt phase and the subjective or meaningful phase of each process. As a tentative statement they relate the two in this manner:

Competition or cooperation is behavior directed toward the same social end by at least two individuals. In competition, moreover, the end sought can be achieved in equal amounts by some but not by all of the individuals thus behaving; whereas in cooperation it can be achieved by all or almost all of the individuals concerned. (p. 6.)

Stated in this way, four problems arise concerning: (1) the motivation to compete or to cooperate; (2) the objects or goals which are sought; (3) the social situations or personnel of groups in which one or the other of these types of behavior takes place; and (4) the manner or form of performance, that is, the rules and skills developed around competition or cooperation.

The discussion of these four questions

constitutes the basic chapter, "A Theory of Competition and Cooperation." The four concepts,—goals, persons, rules, and performance,—are considered as social or "objective" in character. On the psychological level, however, there are four corresponding concepts of importance: discrepancy, knowledge, attitude, and skill. Using these eight terms as their foundation, the authors propose a set of eight postulates upon which they project their entire interpretation.

Regarding motivation they take their cue from a paper by F. Hoppe, the German psychologist, who suggested that the individual may be viewed in relation to two levels: (1) that of attainment or achievement, and (2) that of aspiration. According to May and Doob it follows then that motivation is a function of the discrepancy between achievement and aspiration. The goals of an individual are closely linked to motivations, that is, to the discrepancies between aspiration and achievement, and unless he can close the gap between the two the individual will neither compete nor cooperate nor attempt any combination of the two forms of activity. In general, the goals are either material objects or prestige. Moreover, goals are a function of the individual's knowledge concerning material objects or prestige since the attainment of one or both will enhance his levels of achievement toward corresponding levels of aspiration.

The attitudes of the individuals participating in the social situation of competition or cooperation are also important and these attitudes vary in regard to other persons and in regard to oneself. In fact it is essential to take into account both the attitudes toward competitors or cooperators and the attitudes toward one's own level of aspiration. Much depends on *who* is competing for a given goal or with

whom one is cooperating as well as upon such factors as goal and knowledge. Finally as to the form or manner of cooperation or competition, there arise standardized habits and certain skills which vary tremendously in their effects upon behavior of the individuals concerned.

These correlative groups of concepts,—goals, persons, rules, and performances; and discrepancy, knowledge, attitude, and skill,—furnish the dual foundation for the eight basic postulates. These are too long to be quoted in full, but their essential features may be stated as follows: (1) The form of any social behavior "is a function of and is defined by the goals, persons, rules, and performance that are inferred to be operating." (2) In contrast the psychological form of behavior is a function of and is defined by the discrepancy, knowledge, attitude, and skill assumed to be operating in the given situation. (3) Also, the social form of behavior is actually a function of the psychological form. (4) Yet "the goals, rules, persons, and performance in a given situation are functions of the history of the culture," and at the psychological level the corresponding variables are functions of the life history of the individual. (5) On the social level, individuals compete (a) when the goal is scarce, (b) when the rules prevent securing the end in "equal amounts," (c) whenever their performance is better, provided, of course, that the goal can be attained in "unequal amounts," and (d) when they have few "affiliative contacts with one another." (6) Again on the social level, individuals cooperate (a) when they strive to obtain goals that can be shared, (b) when the rules require the achievement of the goal with approximately equivalent results for the participants, (c) when performance is better, provided the goal can be secured "in equal amounts," and (d) when there are rela-

tively many "affiliative contacts with one another." (7) On the psychological side, individuals compete (a) when there are discrepancies between levels of achievement and of aspiration, (b) when they know that the goals sought cannot be shared equally with others, (c) when the internal attitudes toward competing outweigh possible conflicting ones toward cooperating, and (d) when the skills are such that under the rules of the situation they have reasonable chances of success through competition. Finally, (8) on the psychological level individuals cooperate (a) when discrepancies exist between levels of attainment and aspiration, (b) when they know that the goals sought can be reached by striving *with* others, (c) when the attitudes favorable to cooperation overbalance possible ones stimulating competition, and (d) when the skills are such that under the rules of the situation they have reasonable likelihood of success through cooperation.

From the standpoint of these eight postulates, May and Doob devote four chapters to discussing various investigations of competitive or cooperative behavior undertaken through the methods of psychology, social psychology, sociology, education, and anthropology. It would not be profitable to summarize the matter which is already so compactly stated in the Bulletin. But in the course of their interpretation of the work done in these various areas of research, the authors present twenty-four propositions which seem to them to arise from these data. And in the final chapter, "Prediction and Future Research," they present, largely on the basis of these propositions, sixty-eight specific research projects aimed at answering at least some of the questions implied or stated in the propositions themselves.

There are a number of items in the treat-

ment of the material, however, which demand comment. First, the writers take the traditional psychologist's standpoint when they contend that for "true" scientific analysis, sociological and anthropological data must be reduced to the level of psychological concepts and analysis. (See postulate 3.) Any adequate answer to this implication obviously depends upon one's whole point of view in regard to method and the philosophic premises behind science, but there is plenty of reason to question this assumption in the light of contemporary emphasis on operational concepts. Second, the tendency to consider sociology and cultural anthropology as fundamentally different in method and content is unwarranted in the light of present treatment elsewhere. Third, at times there obtrudes on the part of the authors a bias unduly favorable to Thorndike's doctrine of the specificity of habits and attitudes although there is little reason for introducing this problem here. Fourth, especially evident in the review of child psychology is the almost complete neglect of constitutional and maturational factors which might well be taken into account in getting at the inception of competitive and cooperative activities. Fifth, culture is made identical with society, at least by inference, which leads to a glossing over of possible social, that is interactional, effects on the person which lie outside the boundaries of what is ordinarily defined as culture. Sixth, and most significant, is the failure to distinguish between competition and conflict—as political scientists and sociologists have done—with the result that the probable psychological differences between these two forms of oppositional behavior are ignored. At some points in the discussion competition is made out to be identical

with conflict—a standpoint not supported by social psychology and the social sciences generally.

But in spite of these negative criticisms, this Bulletin marks an important step forward in laying the groundwork for more adequate research. All too frequently in the past little or no consideration has been given to the postulates and propositions upon which specific research was predicated. This report should serve to help offset this lack and to stimulate research workers to consider their fundamental premises and hypotheses before proceeding to concrete investigations. Moreover, the long list of suggested topics for investigation should provide enterprising graduate students and more experienced scholars everywhere with leads for important work yet to be done. And of no mean importance, too, is the excellent bibliography of 220 titles, which cover those materials to which the writers specifically refer. (The mimeographed memorandum of the sub-committee contains many additional references.)

On the whole the volume is well written and the material succinctly presented. In a few places a certain flippancy of style does not particularly advance the argument though it may tickle the reader's sense of humor.

It is out of the question here to attempt to review the extensive mimeographed materials covering some 389 single-spaced pages. The first 87 pages constitute a "Foreword" and an "Interpretative Summary" of the vast literature on competition and cooperation which is abstracted in the six appendixes following. It might be worth while for someone to analyze and contrast this introductory summary with the interpretations of May and Doob. There are some differences.

A SOCIAL HISTORY

AVERY CRAVEN

*University of Chicago*

ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA. By Guion Griffis Johnson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. 935 pp. \$6.00.

Local history has exceptional value for the South. Rural peoples are notoriously provincial. Their outlook is personal. Their reactions, even to national events, are in most cases expressed according to local interests and around local personalities. To understand their political divisions, their social values, and their economic purposes, we must know the immediate environments and the immediate individuals involved. Only from sound local history can the story of the South as a section be written.

Mrs. Johnson has given us a masterpiece in this field. Her study of social-economic life in ante-bellum North Carolina is more exhaustive and more satisfactory in presentation than any other work of its kind, with the possible exception of some done by Philip Alexander Bruce on Virginia. Her gathering of material has been discouragingly exhaustive; the range of subjects included, exceptionally wide; her grasp of the spirit and value of the times, sound and penetrating. The author and the state of which she has written are to be congratulated.

The work begins with a brief sketch of geography and colonial foundations and then centers upon the period extending roughly from 1815 to 1860. It is an analysis of a rural society characterized in the large, as she finds, by "provincialism, sectionalism, conservatism, individualism and superstition." These qualities could have been found in all other Southern states and in most Western ones, not in exactly the same forms, for North Caro-

lina always had a flavor of her own, but in varying degrees. They are rural qualities. Farmers are alike in "social characteristics" wherever they are found. And because this is true Mrs. Johnson's work has a value well beyond the limits of formal history.

North Carolina had fewer large plantations than her neighbors and the country-gentleman ideal found there only a minor expression. Her towns were less pretentious, yet typical in location and form of those in the region. Her "small people" were more numerous, which means that the long-neglected "middle class" in Southern society here receives more attention than it has been given in other studies. Mrs. Johnson describes their family life, their educational and religious opportunities, and their economic endeavors. They were strong on "assault and battery," hungry for human companionship, industrious well beyond the limits which climate was supposed to set. They were as violent in their religious expression as the Negro himself. They were neighborly and anxious to get ahead in the world.

Their women worked with their hands and a surprisingly large number of them became "wage earners" and the heads of their own business establishments. The home was an institution, and "keeping well," getting married and having children the major interests of most of the people. The examples given of early marriages and large families will silence those who have thought such things a part of Negro slavery.

A few things stand out in Mrs. Johnson's story of the Negro and slavery in

North Carolina. The plantation system differed little from that found elsewhere. But the smaller owners were more numerous, and her picture of relationships indicates softer lines between master and slave and the development of attitudes based on reactions to persons rather than states. Free Negroes were numerous and the number who achieved wealth and position large. In other words, here is a picture of that portion of Southern society beyond and below the planter. For the first time we are able to understand properly W. W. Holden and Hinton Helper, though neither plays much of a part in Mrs. Johnson's narrative.

The number of subjects discussed is large. The author finds space for valuable discussion of health, sanitation, doctors and medical boards. She gives a good account of the court system, the criminal code, and the care of the unfortunate. The press and its influence are evaluated. Even the work of printing almanacs, broadsides, and books is described. Education, both in plans made and in steps already taken, is discussed in all phases from the early free schools, the private schools and colleges, down to the effort at

female education, types of school houses, qualifications of teachers and methods of instruction. In fact, the reader will find few matters which have to do with the everyday life of this people, outside of politics, which are not described and illuminated by concrete illustration. Only one subject, which to this reviewer seems important, has been neglected. That is the part played by North Carolina in the settling of the West. No other state furnished quite so many people to the westward movement. The reasons for this and the effects of it are important social matters. They might, with great profit, have been included. They are needed to round out the picture of ante-bellum North Carolina.

This is work based on sound and exhaustive research. Considering the enormous number of subjects treated and the wealth of material given to support them, the book is unusually well written. It belongs in every library and on the desk of every student of Southern history. We know more about the South and about American history because local history of this kind is written.

#### COMMUNAL DECENCY IN DEMOCRACY?

LEE M. BROOKS

*University of North Carolina*

THE TENEMENTS OF CHICAGO, 1908-1935. By Edith Abbott and Others. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. 505 pp. \$5.00. Illustrated.  
ZONING. By Edward M. Bassett. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. 275 pp. \$3.00.

For over twenty-five years Miss Edith Abbott and her group have been studying and re-studying Chicago's tenements and tenants. Hers are familiar words about the housing problem: "almost as immovable as the sphinx; no single path, no

easy way to slum abolition." She comes to conclusions long since reached by experts in housing economics, namely, that low wages cannot meet rental demands of privately built houses in our present system, that health and decency demand governmental intervention and subsidy. Slum clearance and housing must be a central interest; Chicago has given them scant marginal attention. Utilization of cheap vacant land, rental aid for more

costly sites, better laws and "vastly better enforcement," and renovating old dwellings for long years of occupation while we grope and grow into maturer appreciation of the problem as it has come down to us,—these are the essence of her suggestions. It's a long, slow journey away from futility and ugliness toward utility and beauty. The sins of the industrial-commercial fathers mingle with their successes as life flows through today into tomorrow.

Page upon page of detail, almost too much of it, makes the book something of a sightseeing cruise into the shallows and miseries of floundering humanity. Intimately revealed are the wretchedness of old river wards, Negro districts, and numerous other pools and backwaters that remain, poverty dammed, from the earlier immigrant and industrial tides. By the way, these immigrant types, however crowded, are generally found maintaining some sort of integrated home life while older Americans seem relatively more content to drift about in rooming houses. The appeal of home ownership exists even in sodden slums. Generally throughout Chicago the percentage of home ownership has not changed considerably since 1900 though the mortgage load is heavier. Deprivation and deterioration are set forth in full realism. Suffering in fellowship, consciousness of kind, and withal much kindness and mutual aid, juxtaposition of saints and sinners, courage and despair ebb and flow through tenement and alley. Landlord and tenant, evictions and relief, supply and waste services cut off, lowered prestige and morale afflicting both the social worker and the client, municipal delinquency,—all these and many more on the minus side. But over the years fewer stables and manure piles, more "modern conveniences" and parks, a few little isles of new and decent housing,—these and a

few other bright things on the plus side. Whither democracy in such a rough and slummy sea?

Social science and social work will not sidestep their part of the task. The "idly curious" social scientist (p. 165) may not be bailing the boat as actively as the salvage crews of social work but he is storm conscious aplenty and just as eager as anyone for a new day in housing. Who knows but some of the chart-and-compass work going on today in sociology, economics, and political science by passionate students (Cf. Pavlov's bequest to students) will prove mightily effective in building and steering a better ship of state?

*Zoning*, by Edward M. Bassett, is a worthwhile addition to the increasing list of publications that deal with better housing and more adequate community life. It is a copiously documented volume by the counsel of the Zoning Committee of New York City where in 1916 new procedures began to take shape and meaning. Zoning is defined as the regulation by districts under the police power of the height, bulk, and use of buildings, the use of land, and the density of population. To be lawful, zoning must be based on the preservation of the health, safety, morals, comfort, convenience, and general welfare of the community, and it must not be discriminatory. In this oft-repeated theme lie the social implications of technical zoning—and although the author does not become explicit as does Thomas Adams in his writings on town planning concerning the potential contributions of social science—yet amid the technical discussion the reader feels Mr. Bassett's social pulse.

Today zoning operates in more than 1,200 municipalities throughout the country with a few instances of county regulation as in California. State enabling acts are permissive; zoning is not compulsory, but once a community decides to zone, it

must follow the requirements of the State act. Use-zoning has met much more opposition than height and area regulations but in 1926 its way was cleared by the Euclid, Ohio, case.

In the long chapter on zoning districts many details are covered. Efforts to employ zoning to effect racial segregation, even though upheld by State courts, have uniformly been declared contrary to the federal constitution. Most interesting is the section on humanitarian institutions. Residents have in various places tried to block schools, churches, and hospitals from locating in the more open areas, but throughout the country the courts have generally ruled in favor of the institution. "To a certain extent the motives were to exclude institutions ordinarily exempted from taxation, but the main reason always was to prevent the depressing effect of these institutions on the surrounding inhabitants. Sometimes it was thought that values were affected." (p. 73) Back in 1916 Mr. Bassett and his confreres had no idea but that "these concomitants of

civilized residential life had a proper place in the best and most open localities." (p. 70) He points out that it "never was the intention of zoning to make districts exclusively residential, but rather that residences should be protected against harmful uses." Today hospitals for mental cases are especially unwanted by New York City's satellites. Is it not clear that this book can be of value to students of the community?

Chapters X and XI are informative as to definitions and particular uses. Incidentally, seldom is a book written with chapters so uneven in length. It would seem that Chapter VIII, only one page on criminal proceedings might have been merged with VII on court procedure. The bibliography and extensive index of cases are impressive.

While zoning is a stabilizer it cannot correct chaos; blighted areas and slums call for reconstruction, says Mr. Bassett, and, it might be added, reconstruction for the sake of decency in democracy.

#### TWO SOCIOLOGISTS?

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

*University of Texas*

COMTE, FOUNDER OF SOCIOLOGY. By F. S. Marvin. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1937. 216 pp. \$1.75.

VEBLEN. By J. A. Hobson. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1937. 227 pp. \$1.75.

WHAT VEBLEN TAUGHT. Edited, with an Introduction, by Wesley C. Mitchell. New York: The Viking Press, 1936. 503 pp. \$3.00.

Application of the fundamental ideas of Comte to present-day conditions as a means of assessing their validity is the task undertaken in this small volume. The result is that a dim, mystical figure who is commonly thought to have given sociology its name, but little else, emerges as a

thinker whose clarity of vision enabled him to penetrate the coming decades with rare accuracy.

Marvin seizes on the melioristic preoccupation of Comte's philosophy and traces the development of the movement as an indication of how well the French thinker read social trends. The result is that he is able to show a steady and very considerable growth of the idea and its practice, in spite of set-backs such as the World War and the cynicism which followed. The League of Nations largely embodies Comte's idea of a great Western Republic

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composed of France, Germany, England, and Spain. In medicine, in social legislation, even in industry, Marvin finds no lack of examples of the growth of the spirit Comte preached. He finds counter currents also, as exemplified by Pareto.

Similarly, as Comte predicted, Science is playing a more and more important part in the modern world. It seems undeniable that in both material and immaterial aspects of life our world is becoming more and more scientific, less and less metaphysical or theological; that we are approaching the Positive Era hailed with such enthusiasm by Comte.

However, on the score of his two other dominant ideas, the record is not so favorable to Comte. The faith he felt in the growing betterness of the world as it becomes more scientific seems rather doubtful to many observers. Some of us are beginning to wonder if Intelligence and Godliness are synonymous; if clarity of vision is sufficient to make the world the place we wish it were; if we really have Progress, or merely change. Perhaps this is unfair to Comte, and Marvin, since they would immediately counter that Morality is equally important with Intelligence. The trouble, of course, lies in Comte's faith that Science and Morality are different aspects of the same thing.

Finally, Comte saw sociology as the great synthesizing science of sciences. How bitterly disappointed he would be a century later! Not even sociology itself is synthesized. The tendency has been away from, not toward, the ideal he set. However, Comte's idea that any social aggregate is something more than the sum of its constituent parts may lead again toward a coordinated synthesized formulation of the principles by which men live.

Both of the books on Thorstein Veblen and his teachings are written by economists of high standing in their profession;

and both make a clear case for the classification of Veblen as a sociologist. One of them, that by Hobson, is of a series of popular presentations of "modern sociologists"; but it is Mitchell who makes the sociological aspects of the gloomy Scandinavian's thought most apparent.

Such a situation has interesting implications for both disciplines. It questions the existence of the thin and wavering line which is thought to separate the two fields of study, and forces attention to the problem of whether activities connected with getting a living can be separated from others, or whether other behavior can be understood without a knowledge of how bodies are fed, clothed, and sheltered.

Veblen's answer is an emphatic "No!" to both questions. From the evidence at hand it would seem that at last some reputable economists are inclined to agree.

Veblen is a staunch advocate of economic determinism in that he sees the bias peculiar to a pecuniary civilization as the most fundamental of all factors in explaining our culture. But what had he lived a thousand years ago? Is it not likely that he would have studied religion? That is, Veblen looks at the economic structure as an institution in our age surrounded by mystic sanctions and "mana" which give it a force not at all intrinsic but far above and beyond that which would adhere if it were considered rationally and reasonably. He is interested not in modes of production or hedonistic calculations of pain and pleasure, but in social processes, propensities, and social habits as powerful motives in culture. This, of course, is the field of sociology; and a far cry from the mechanistic, scientific economics of the traditional economists. His contrast with that group is further heightened by his refusal to deal in their usual mathematical terminology. As Mitchell says, Veblen, like Darwin, was a purely qualitative scientist.

Both the books under review summarize Veblen's principal works. Hobson adds incisive comments as part of his discussion-summary. For instance, he remarks that had Veblen known England as he knew America, he could have made an even better case for his argument anent the leisure class. Mitchell prefaces his series of excerpts by an excellent essay in which he seeks to explain the theories as products of the time and place and cultural back-

ground in which they were expressed. This is exactly what Veblen would have wished, since it is an application of his own idea that we are all products of an environment which produces standardized habits of thought and feeling. Both are excellent "introductions" to an American thinker who has been too little known to the culture which produced him and which he has described.

### TRENDS IN RECREATION

HAROLD D. MEYER

*University of North Carolina*

**CREATIVE GROUP EDUCATION.** By S. R. Slavson. New York: Association Press, 1937. 247 pp.

**RECREATIONAL THERAPY.** By John Eisele Davis in collaboration with Dr. William Rush Dunton, Jr. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1936. 206 pp.

**LEISURE AND RECREATION.** By Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1936. 405 pp.

**ADVENTURES IN RECREATION.** By Weaver Weddell Pangburn. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1936. 138 pp.

**PLAYGROUNDS.** National Recreation Association, edited by George D. Butler. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1936. 402 pp.

**THE GAME-WAY TO SPORTS.** B. H. Atwood Reynolds. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1937. 210 pp.

In the last two years an unusual impetus has been given to the field of recreation. A large number of books have come from press indicating new trends in this field. Five trends are considered in the reviews given below. The first relates to group-work leadership; the second, to the place of recreation in physical and mental therapy. Good textbook material in this field is the third trend and the interest in study groups is the fourth. The fifth

trend is the emphasis being given to new materials and program activities.

*Creative Group Education.* There are many indications that group-work leadership is becoming increasingly important. Recently the Boys' Clubs of America held a conference to discuss the training of group-work leaders. A number of institutions of higher learning are rapidly increasing the opportunities in this field. *Creative Group Education* may be considered a good text and guide to develop leadership. The character agencies, club groups of all types, the cultural fields of recreation and leadership form the emphasis of the book. The author wages his philosophy of group leadership around the idea of developing the "total personality." This development is gradually making its way into formal as well as leisure-time education. It is an attempt to coordinate the entire group experience of a person. The work indicates the possibility of an all-round education. The main contribution, however, is the practical way in which the author deals with the practical problems that confront the group leader. The book

offers a fine opportunity to guide course-content technics and methods with effective procedure. It should take its place as a pioneer book in this field.

*Recreational Therapy.* With the increase of emphasis in the field of psychiatry and the attempt to develop curative methods, this book effectively introduces the place of recreation as therapy for the mentally ill. The work grew primarily out of the daily experiences of the writers, who directed a program of recreation for thousands of psychotic and neurotic patients over a period of many years. The authors are also well acquainted with the general field of mental rehabilitation. Medical and technical authorities have given assistance. The evaluation of the patient's personality and general therapeutic picture given by the psychiatrists provides the basis for programming. The social concept of the individual is the essential element in approach. The book follows the modern system of therapeutics by aid of the mechanisms of (1) readjustment, (2) reeducation, (3) resocialization. Each one of these factors is presented and discussed in the light of recreation. The authors believe that recreational therapy will develop its greatest possibilities in the modern treatment of the mentally ill in its capacity to assist the patient to form more acceptable personal habits and more socialized intra and extra-mural readjustments. No doubt in the immediate future this phase of recreation will be given unusual attention, and it is believed that recreation has a definite place in both physical and mental therapy. The book is well organized, direct in its treatment, and presented in terminology which is devoid of too technical medical or psychiatric phrases.

*Leisure and Recreation.* A recent study has just been completed by the Division of Recreation of the Works Progress Ad-

ministration on the opportunities for training for recreational leadership in the United States. The study clearly indicates a marked increase in the interest of institutions of higher learning in bringing this opportunity into the curriculum. Institutions throughout the United States are centering a great deal of attention on this subject. If a course could be offered in the Sociology of Leisure and Recreation, this book is undoubtedly the best text that could be used at this time. Taking the "new leisure" as its foundation, the volume stresses conditioning factors of leisure, the changing uses of leisure, recreation in modern life, the relation of leisure to personality, preparing for leisure, the theories of play and recreation, and many community aspects of programming along with proper emphasis on leadership. The book has at the end of each chapter projects and exercises which make effective classroom opportunities for discussion. It has also a well selected series of references. The book stands out as a first attempt to bring recreation definitely into its sociological aspects and scope. It takes its place along with Mitchell and Mason's *The Theory of Play* as the two leading texts in this field of training for recreational leadership.

*Adventures in Recreation.* Many civic groups, such as parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, home-study groups, and the like, are giving emphasis to recreation. A number of them have taken the subject as the theme for a year of study. Also a great deal of interest is being shown in vocational guidance, especially introducing recreation to boys and girls in secondary schools. This book is an excellent guide for group study. The chapter headings are in the nature of questions and the content analyzes the questions. Each chapter has an excellent summary and a number of interesting suggestions for

projects and study discussions. The book is ideal as a textbook guide, interesting one in the field of recreation as a vocation and giving the lay citizen a knowledge of the field.

In recent months a large number of volumes have been printed dealing with the activity side of the program. Books like *Active Games and Contests*, and *Social Games for Recreation*, both by Mason and Mitchell, *Sports for Recreation* by Mitchell, along with the two volumes here reviewed, indicate trends in this direction. The first volume, *Playgrounds*, is the latest work as an aid to the administrator of a recreation department. No recreation executive should be without the volume. The school plant, leadership, activities and program, administrative problems, and problems of operation are all discussed in detail. The volume fills a need which has existed for a long time in centering detailed discussion and information on an individual playground and in the administration of a playground system. Three groups have been considered in preparing the volume—the playground authority, the worker on the individual playground, and for use in training courses as a manual for a course on playgrounds. The volume is definite in its content; it sticks to its subject—the playground. The author has had wide experience in the field and has brought together this valuable volume from these experiences and interpreted them in the light of modern trends.

The second volume in this field, *The Game-Way to Sports*, indicates a definite trend of putting the play-way into all types of recreational activities. Progressive education utilizes the game-way as a pedagogical technic. Formal gymnastics have given way to play-way gymnastics. Now we have an emphasis on the game-way to sports. As preliminary to coaching, there are a large number of

"lead-up" games that are interesting to the novice which can be used in limited space and which can interest a large number of players. This volume emphasizes this type of activity. It is an attempt to stress activities which can be played by those who are not yet capable of participating in highly organized sports. There is a marked emphasis on the recreational features of these games. The book represents a comprehensive survey of the existing lead-up games with variations and adaptations for this purpose. Practical in nature, it comes to the field of sports as a new trend linking the intramural with the interscholastic process in recreation. As such a device it should find a welcome place by many physical educators and recreationalists who are not desirous of over-emphasis of the higher sports and athletic events.

**SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.** By Lloyd Verner Ballard. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. 514 pp. \$4.00.

The study of social institutions comprises a definitely recognized field of sociology. Yet its development has lagged behind that of other main divisions of our science. The present volume must be welcomed, therefore, as a contribution to a fundamental phase of sociological development, taking its place with the recent work of Chapin, Hertzler, and others.

This volume is primarily a survey of the literature on contemporary social institutions, with special reference to their institutional forms, functions, and processes. Twenty-nine of its 31 chapters are devoted to specific institutions—eight to the state; six to the family; five to the church; four to the school; two to recreation; and one each to the public library, the social settlement, the health center, and emergent social institutions. In the case of each institution considered, the author surveys

the literature and reworks it into a condensed and organic whole.

Measured by what it seeks to do, this volume is excellent. The material is well selected, well organized, and its arrangement is in logical and orderly fashion. While the bibliography cited is confined largely to books, ignoring considerable recent pamphlet literature, the author conveys the impression that he is familiar with the fields covered, and that he has allowed viewpoint to mature before he proceeded to write. It is an excellent book to put into the hands of students, and its use as a text is sure to be widespread.

Without in any way detracting from what has just been said, certain possible limitations may be suggested. One is the fact that only two of the 31 chapters deal with the fundamental theory of institutions, and these present no essential contribution. Like many other sociologists dealing with institutions, the author emphasizes specific institutions, from the sociological point of view, rather than the generic aspects of social institutions. It is my "hunch" that this latter vein will repay more prospecting.

After Professor Fairchild's presidential address (1936) on "Business as an Institution," one cannot forego calling attention to the author's omission of economic institutions. The preface explanation for the omission of a discussion of industry is not wholly convincing; especially alongside of the relative space devoted to the state. One is inclined to think, too, that the space devoted to the emergent social institutions is too limited, especially when contrasted with that devoted to the social settlement and the health center.

These and other possible comments, however, involve matters of judgment and should be regarded as such. Professor Ballard has given us an excellent text on the sociological approach to institutions,

and deserves the commendation not only of teachers of sociology but of workers in various allied fields.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD  
*University of Pennsylvania.*

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION IN SOCIAL WORK.  
By Pierce Atwater. St. Paul, Minnesota: McClain & Hedman Company, 1937. 236 pp. \$3.50 postpaid. Mimeographed.

Although the last five years have witnessed the rapidly growing importance of administration in social work, yet, on the whole, published material continues scattered and fragmentary. Too long has the social work executive had to depend largely on more generalized information and principles or books written wholly from the point of view of the business concern. Perhaps this lag has been due in part to the fact that, until recently, social work executives were recruited largely from the business field. In addition, social work administration appears to be still in a somewhat nebulous state despite the vast sums of money expended, particularly in public welfare, accompanied by the recent elaborate administrative set-ups. Perhaps, too, it is because there has been a more or less tacit assumption that a vast gulf existed between public and private agencies, which could in no wise be bridged by any similarity in administrative problems and techniques. Although writers have tried to assure us that a book or article on administration approached from the point of view of the private organization, such as Elwood Street's admirable discussion of *Social Work Administration* (1931), could be easily adapted to meet the needs of a public agency, and vice versa, we have looked at such approaches with a skeptical eye and have, on the whole, remained unconvinced. In some quarters, too, there continues the attitude among such administra-

tive agents as county superintendents of public welfare, that organization with its related problems is the concern of someone else "higher up," and that his responsibility ends with carrying out the "letter of the law" and that any attempt at interpretation of the "spirit" is not only superfluous but rank heresy. Furthermore, reliance on outside material has sometimes led to confusing social work administration with office management, so that, as Grace Abbott so aptly puts it, "the accounting or filing system, saving paper clips, determining procedure in the issuance of supplies, and a tidy desk" are apt to be considered "tests of real administrative skill in a social service agency" (*Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1936*, p. 494), whereas this is but one phase and only a small part of the responsibility of the social work administrator.

It is, therefore, particularly encouraging to make the acquaintance of Mr. Atwater's *Problems of Administration in Social Work*—a frank discussion by an administrator who has charted successfully the course of both public and private agencies. The key to the author's treatment of his subject is found on p. 14 when he says:

Every social agency must fit its program into the community and while it is of prime importance that the agency program be well conducted, it is utterly impossible to have it so function unless the whole administrative policy is to fit into the totality of the whole picture of community life. The end to be served by every social work administration in any field is the goal of a successful community. Nothing in this segmented life is an end unto itself. No social agency nor social work administrator can be successful until the recognition of this principle becomes a conscious and working doctrine in every procedure.

And it is with this concept in mind that Mr. Atwater gets under way. In other words, "Every social work agency has a clientele which it serves. That service is

its basic job." (p. 25). Elwood Street, in his *Social Work Administration*, has said practically the same thing, when he comments, "Effective management and effective human service are not incompatible but supplementary. That social agency which is most effective in administration usually is also most effective in performing the real services to which it is dedicated." (p. 3).

As his title indicates, Mr. Atwater is interested primarily in problems of administration, and in these as they affect the clientele, as well as the staff, of the agency. There is, for example, no elaborate discussion of office lay-outs, of record keeping and filing systems, but there is definite reference to such things as "Respectable Conditions for Work," the inadequacy of telephone service in most social agencies, the service accorded the client in the outer office and the waiting room, and "just plain good manners in business." On the whole, no special mention is made of public and private agencies as such, but the references to changing alignments in public and private organizations, and the effects of these changes in other agencies as, for example, welfare councils, are significant and tie up closely with the discussions of Boards of Directors and Governing Boards as well as with the problems involved in the social work administrator's contacts and relations with politicians and politics. Naturally the chapters on "Principles of Raising Money in Social Work" and "The Sequence of Events in Money Raising Campaigns" hold more interest for the private agency than for the public, yet even here one finds illustrations drawn from such public measures as CWA and WPA, and suggestions which might well be adapted to stimulate the county or local community to greater generosity in the use of public funds for social welfare.

Again, the chapters on financial problems, community interpretation, and publicity, are of equal value to both public and private organizations.

A criticism that is frequently made of published materials on social work administration is that the approach is from the point of view of the larger social agency in the urban center. Although this may, on the whole, be true of Mr. Atwater's book, he is by no means unaware of the smaller organization, and for those who work and teach in rural states, his final chapter on "How Semi-Rural Situations Condition Administrative Principles" is a real gem. Nor is he neglectful of regional differences or variations in cultural backgrounds, and the significance of these to the social worker—both case worker and administrator—is mentioned specifically in his discussion of "The Nature of the Community Policy" (pp. 54-57).

*Problems of Administration in Social Work* is too valuable to continue in its present ephemeral and cumbersome form, and it is hoped that Mr. Atwater will give it to us in a printed volume of standard size and type 'ere long.

KATHARINE JOCHER.

*University of North Carolina.*

TOBACCO REGULATION IN COLONIAL MARYLAND. By Vertrees J. Wyckoff. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1936. 228 pp. \$2.25.

As cotton further South, tobacco materially influenced the pattern of early social culture and economic life in Maryland. Stated by the author, "Existing records allow no question about tobacco being the foundation of more-than-subsistence economic life in Maryland from 1634 to 1775."

Having failed to find gold, the direct incentive for much early explorative effort, colonists turned to the production of to-

bacco, or what at the beginning could well have been termed "golden leaf," because of the high prices it brought. As has always happened when the price for any agricultural product is favorable, production soon became excessive, and disastrously low prices resulted. Very low prices then, as in 1932-33 when the AAA was initiated, induced tobacco growers and all those directly interested in tobacco production to attempt to improve the situation in which they found themselves.

Tobacco growers neither under the AAA nor in the last hundred years have thought of or tried any ameliorative action which was not actually tried out by the Colonial tobacco growers of Maryland. The first official action was the granting of a patent by James I to three men to garble all tobacco imports. This was done to improve the quality of tobacco offered for sale in England. Import duties on tobacco had been levied by England a few years prior to passage of the garbling act. Very soon an import monopoly was sold by James I to a small group of English business men. These and later regulatory acts passed by the English government were objectionable to Maryland tobacco growers, and were, in final analysis, added grist for the mill grinding which resulted in the Revolutionary War.

Virginia as the oldest tobacco growing colony initiated tobacco regulation by adoption in 1621 of a law limiting the number of plants and leaves which could be cultivated per person. An act in 1624 forbade the disposal of tobacco by any man "before the minister be satisfied . . . out of the first and best tobacco." Another section of the same act provided that "there be some men in every plantation to censure the tobacco." Virginia had by 1634 developed through legislation and administrative orders an elaborate legal system for regulating the planting, tend-

ing, cutting, curing and marketing of tobacco.

For two reasons, Virginia has to be considered along with Maryland in matters relating to tobacco. First, for a full century, Virginia and Maryland were the dominant sources of cultivated American tobacco. Secondly, whatever Virginia did sooner or later had its counterpart in Maryland.

Maryland first enacted tobacco control legislation in 1639 by imposing an export duty of five pounds on every hundred weight, and requiring every producer of tobacco "to plant and tend two acres of Corne." The first tobacco inspection law was passed the following year, lapsed in 1642, but was renewed in stronger form in 1657. Legislation regulating the size of tobacco hogsheads was first enacted in 1677.

In the spring of 1682, after the assembly had failed to pass laws to limit tobacco production that year, the growers took things into their own hands and cut down tobacco in two or three counties amounting to about 10,000 hogsheads. Upon other occasions, violence was resorted to, as burning tobacco, whipping growers and the like.

In Virginia, a law was enacted in 1730 providing for bounty payments of 15 shillings for the destruction of 150 pounds of the most ordinary tobacco per 6,000 plants. This law never became operative, because the Maryland Assembly failed to enact a like measure.

At times, fixed prices were declared for tobacco, and debt payments and other business transactions were made on this basis. Public storage warehouses were provided with warehouse receipts serving generally in lieu of money and as security for loans. Maryland finally enacted comprehensive tobacco regulatory legislation, similar to that already in force in Virginia

in 1747. This legislation continued through 1770. For three years following 1770, no legislation was in force. Excessive production in 1773 again resulted in the adoption of similar tobacco control legislation.

In short, all devices which have ever been employed to improve tobacco prices were used in Colonial Maryland. Historical precedent in Virginia and Maryland may have contributed materially to the form of tobacco control exercised under the AAA. About the results, the author concludes that: (1) little progress was made in maintaining profitable tobacco prices; (2) success in production control was not impressive; and (3) considerable improvement was made in marketing practices.

The study is well written and amply documented. As research, it is impressive. The general style, while scholarly, is not heavy, rather quite readable. To learn about the experiences of the early tobacco growers of Virginia and Maryland is most enlightening and interesting, especially because of similarity in many particulars to recent experiences of tobacco growers which resulted in control of tobacco production under the AAA.

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY

*Production Credit Corporation of Louisville.*

NEWCOMERS AND NOMADS IN CALIFORNIA. By William T. Cross and Dorothy Embry Cross. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937. 149 pp. \$1.50.

This study of California migrants gives some attention to the conditions that have made that State a Mecca for migratory labor, but the authors' chief interest is directed to programs of social treatment. The statistical data for the volume have for the most part been secured from unpublished studies of the California transient problem made under the auspices of the

State Emergency Relief Administration in 1933. Later statistics of migration have unfortunately not been included.

The main body of the book is devoted to a descriptive analysis of the relief and rehabilitation work of the Federal Transient Service and State Agencies on behalf of the thousands of migrants stranded in California during the worst period of the depression. The chief contribution of the volume is its appraisal of the administrative experience gained during that period when Federal funds made possible more adequate care of indigent transients than had formerly been given by local authorities. What the reader misses is a discussion of the effects of the sudden discontinuance of the Federal Transient Service in the autumn of 1935. In these days when situations change so rapidly, it is not unreasonable to demand that books dealing with current problems should be as nearly up-to-date as possible. An additional chapter describing the transition from Federal to State responsibility for the care of transients and the trends in migratory labor in California as the financial situation improved would have made the volume more useful to students. The book is well documented and contains an extensive, classified bibliography.

J. F. STEINER.

*University of Washington.*

THE ANCIENT WORLD. By Wallace E. Caldwell. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. 590 pp. \$3.75.

This volume, intended primarily as a textbook for college classes in the subject, is so presented that it should have wide interest for the general reader as well as for teachers and students of antiquity. The author has drawn upon the best of the fruits of scholarship in the field, as the extensive bibliography and notes show, and has told in a very lively way the vital

story of the ancient world. This story is made all the more interesting through the use of numerous carefully selected illustrations. Very engaging is the style of the book, the first of a series of three which will constitute a history of western civilization. The volumes to come will be *Medieval Civilization*, by Professor Loren C. Mac Kinney, of The University of North Carolina, and *Modern Europe*, by President Stringfellow Barr, of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland.

In the present volume Professor Caldwell takes the reader from a breezy discussion of "Preliminary History," through the early Orient, where "the foundations of our Western Civilization were laid," into Egypt, Syria, the lands of Canaan, the Medes and the Persians, up and down the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, into Greece and Rome, and on through the last century of the Roman Empire. This fascinating journey through many millennia also goes from a pertinent discussion of the reasons for studying history to that of the crumbled imperial structure of Rome. But ancient civilization did not fail, the author says. Nor did it disappear. Today, he adds, it remains "the substructure upon which our own culture rests." Professor Caldwell has done a very good and a very useful and usable book.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

*University of North Carolina.*

AMERICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By Harold U. Faulkner. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1937. 772 pp. \$5.00.

This book is a general one-volume introduction to American history, designed primarily to serve as a college textbook. It is free from the superficialities and vague idealism of the older political and episodic historical writing. It is also independent of the *a priori* dogmatism of

the outright Marxists. In short, the volume is an admirable example of the new history. It is realistic, thoughtful, sane, and well-balanced. It gives plenty of attention to economic and social factors. Indeed, the political and diplomatic history is properly treated as a reflection of the social and economic forces which conditioned it. But plenty of attention is given to all actually relevant phases of our political evolution.

The newer tendencies in historical styles and interpretations are well exemplified by the distribution of space. Out of a total of nearly 800 pages only about 125 are given to the period down through the Constitutional era, while about half of the book is devoted to the period since the Civil War. So full is the attention given to economic and social considerations in our national life that the book may be considered a notable contribution to American social history.

The author is particularly courageous in dealing candidly with our industrial development and with American diplomacy. In treating our recent history, Professor Faulkner lays special stress upon

the evolution of big business and its new methods, and on the effect of big business upon imperialism and war. He makes it very clear that we are now approaching a highly critical period in American civilization which the New Deal is not likely to solve in any permanent or satisfactory fashion.

One may unhesitatingly declare that this is the best one-volume history of the United States which has thus far been printed, even though it does not supply the encyclopedic political detail to be found in Professor Bassett's old classic. It should be an admirable college textbook which will both inform the student and stimulate him to constructive thought. It should also prove useful and popular as a guide to the intelligent general reader. The style is sufficiently attractive to entice the latter.

The book may be particularly recommended to sociologists, who will certainly find it an unusually convenient and reliable guide to the social history of this country.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

*New School for Social Research.*

#### BOOK NOTES

YOUNG WARD'S DIARY. Edited by Bernhard J. Stern. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935. 320 pp. \$3.00.

Edward A. Ross, I have somewhere read, once remarked that if Aristotle had chanced to be born in pioneer America his career would have likely paralleled Lester F. Ward's. Here Stern has edited for us the journal of our adolescent Aristotle during the ten years that he was an impious student, laborer, rural school teacher, soldier, and government clerk. It is an artless and detailed record of poverty, young love, and the struggle for learning. All the partisanship and na-

iveté of youth are there; and there will, no doubt, be some to regret that the diary has been published. The diary affords insight into the *mores* as well as living conditions of the vari-colored decades. It offers encouragement to the advocates of early marriage, self-culture, and "where there's a will, there's a way." Ward's struggles for an education were known, but this intimate record should make him the patron saint of all self-help students. In it can be seen the personal rationale of Ward's theories of sex equality and social progress through universal education. If any one is tempted to say that its publica-

tion will not increase Ward's status, the answer may be made that his social insight flowered late and through hard work.

R. B. V.

**THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT.** A Study of Social Pressures. By Arthur F. Bentley. Bloomington, Indiana: Principia Press, 1935. 501 pp. \$4.00.

This is a reissue (*not* a new edition) of a book originally published, in 1908, by the University of Chicago Press. It now rates as a classic in the fields of sociology, political science, and legal philosophy. At a time when McDougall, Wallas, and others were presenting "psychological" interpretations of society, Bentley questioned the validity of quasi-independent feelings, ideas, and even group opinions as "explanations" of social events, and contended that group interests and pressures were basic in the process of government, as in social life generally. "We must," he says, "deal with felt things, not with feelings, with intelligent life, not with idea ghosts. We must deal with felt facts and with thought facts, but not with feeling as reality or with thought as truth. We must find the only reality and the only truth in the proper functioning of the felt facts and the thought facts in the system to which they belong." This general point of view is exemplified in the author's later works.

S. E.

**AN AMERICAN-MEXICAN FRONTIER: NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS.** By Paul Schuster Taylor. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934. 337 pp. \$3.50.

Texas offers an excellent field for the student of racial and cultural conflict and interpenetration. Since the territory was wrested from the Mexicans almost a century ago, it has been occupied by three distinct groups: the dominant Anglo-

Americans, the Mexicans, and the Negroes. This has brought about a unique situation, one of the results of the invasion of the western territory by the older "Southern" culture.

Professor Taylor has recognized the fertility of this field and in the volume under discussion has carried forward his studies of the interrelationships of the three groups begun during the last decade. Though he is primarily interested in the present situation and confines himself largely to the interaction between the "Mexicans" and the Anglo-Americans, he gives a clear picture of the background; and the Negro group constantly comes into the study. He also makes clear the distinction between "Texas-Mexicans" and "Mexican-Americans;" a distinction often disregarded by the Anglo-American Texans and Negroes. The result is an excellent study of a complicated system of social relationships and status groupings. The direct quotations and field notes in the language of the participants in this system give the work authenticity and the reader the feeling of getting an "inside view" of what is actually going on; that is, it is literary photography as contrasted to portraiture.

H. E. M.

**SLAVERY IN MISSISSIPPI.** By Charles S. Sydnor. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935. 270 pp. \$3.50.

In this volume Professor Sydnor has made a definite and lasting contribution to the history of the ante-bellum South. While the limits of his study confine him to Mississippi, his volume necessarily throws light upon his subject elsewhere in the Gulf states. And, judged by the scope and completeness of the investigation, the vast fund of fact gathered, the arrangement of material, and the objective presentation of it, the book may be regarded as

one of the most valuable contributions yet made to the history of American Negro slavery. Discussing in separate chapters work; clothing, food, and shelter; physical and social care; plantation and police control; punishments and rewards; fugitives; buying, selling, and hiring; profitableness of slavery; the Mississippi Colonization Society; and contemporary opinion, he presents as complete a picture of the system as existing material would permit, and the most complete picture that has so far appeared for any state. And, as befits an important social study and all too seldom happens, it is absorbingly interesting.

J. G. de R. H.

THE GEOGRAPHIC PATTERN OF MANKIND. By John E. Pomfret. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935. 428 pp.

The compass of this volume is truly amazing. Written for an orientation course in social science, it surveys the world's regional economies from China to Peru. Necessarily brief, it manages to give, surprisingly enough, convincing and realistic pictures of geographic backgrounds and economic modes of life. The basis of classification is climatic, the primary laws of geophysics are discussed, while most interesting to the sociologist will be the opening chapter on human geography and culture. To an already long reading list the social science survey course teacher will rightly be tempted to add this volume. One could have wished, even for a textbook, more credit given to sources, and some notice of alternative points of view.

R. B. V.

THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE OF JUDICIAL SUPREMACY. 2nd edition. By C. G. Haines. Berkeley: University of California, 1934. 705 pp. \$6.00.

The second edition of Professor Haines' *The American Doctrine of Judicial Supre-*

*macy* is an indispensable volume to the student of judicial review. This is an entirely new book in scope as well as content and will remain the definitive study from the scholar's point of view. Several additional chapters deal with new topics such as "Types and Characteristics of Governments in Relation to Judicial Review of Legislation"; "Recent Criticisms of the Practice of Judicial Review of Legislative Acts"; and "Some Theories and Fictions Involved in the Application of Judicial Review of Legislation." There are important appendices which include a list and a classification of all Acts of Congress declared void and the provisions of written constitutions relating to judicial review with important studies of contemporary foreign literature and the most comprehensive bibliography available today. This may rightly be called the definitive study in its field.

P. B.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOME PROBLEMS OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERALISM. By K. O. Warner. Seattle: University of Washington, 1934. 312 pp. \$1.75.

Professor Warner's study, while it is not the first, is perhaps the most comprehensive review of federalism in Australia. He divides his study into two sections dealing respectively with general and with financial relationships between the States and the Commonwealth. The study brings the account down to 1933 and is particularly pertinent because the author has discussed some of the recent fiscal problems which have given rise to important constitutional conflicts within the Commonwealth.

In the first section the author discusses, beside the constitution and legislation, administrative and judicial relationships, problems arising out of foreign affairs, education, industrial disputes, trade and claims and railways. With respect to

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finance he treats, beside the general financial relations between the States and the Commonwealth by way of grants in aid, the control of banks, loans, taxation and tariffs. The absence of consideration of the more subtle political and psychological factors in the equilibrium of a federal system lend a certain indistinctness to the conclusions which he draws. It is only in the prospective of political determinations that the formal conclusions of legislative, administrative, or judicial authorities can be accurately appraised, but his study will prove a serviceable introduction to the history of federal relations in Australia.

P. B.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By Kamil Krofta. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1934. 198 pp. \$2.00.

The constant periodic explosions and troublesome occurrences in Central and Eastern Europe are more or less incomprehensible to the average American observer. The situation is not so puzzling, however, to those acquainted with the social forces operating in that region of Europe, which provide an explanation, although, I believe, not a solution. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the situation may seem even more puzzling, not because its affairs are troublesome, but rather because its affairs are not so troublesome and because it still remains an island of democracy in a sea of autocracy, in the region of various colored shirts and of absolute leaders. The explanation lies in the knowledge of historical social forces and in the spiritual power exerted by a scholarly old gentleman—a philosopher—who demonstrated that a university professor could become a social force in the affairs of a nation. Full details of that background are now available in this short volume, the first complete history of

Czechoslovakia in the English language. Dr. Krofta, also a scholar, university professor and statesman, provides us with the record of the Slav forefathers of the present Czech and Slovak nation from the second century down to the year 1000. Subsequent chapters deal with the Premysl Dynasties of Princes and Kings; the period of the Luxemburgs, the Hussites, the Jagellons, the Habsburgs; the various phases of Absolutism from 1710 to 1859; the fifty odd years of constitutional experiments; the Great War and its issues to this very day. Contrary to the usual American advertising practice, the publisher has failed to tell us that the excellence of this volume is attested by the fact that it has been translated into French, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, Bulgarian, and Hungarian.

J. S. R.

THE BARBARY COAST. By Herbert Asbury. New York: Knopf, 1933. 319 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.

This book should be made compulsory reading for every adult over forty who insists that American morals in the days of his youth were superior to those of today, and twice for all sociologists akin in mind with the one who recently objected to a text in his field because the students found it so interesting. The book traces a sordid but socially significant portion of American civilization. It handles a theme treated lightly by conventional American historians who have doubly distilled their material, first taking out much of the life of the common people and then most of the coarseness which was and in less degree still is a genuine and revealing part of American culture. Those who discount sociological data when interpreted by one skilled in the art of writing or who are alienated by any mixing in of humor in such a portrayal will shy away from this book, for its

penetrating but facetiously expressed sympathy suggests the craftsmanship of a twentieth-century Smollett. The book pictures only a part of the San Francisco of the period, but neither its evolution nor that of any other large city of this country can be honestly described with this aspect omitted. The book does more than bring before the reader a long procession of graft, corrupt politics, race-prejudice, vice in all its forms, and all the other evidences of low social standards. With a quick twist of his probe the author every now and then gets down to fundamentals. An example of this is his statement that *ostentatious* vice was doomed when business decided that it was no longer good advertising for the city resurrected after the great fire, and again in his description of that dramatic march of the 300 gaily dressed prostitutes, soon to be driven from the city, to the church of the ecclesiastical crusader whose sensational attack they held responsible for their coming exile, to ask "What are you going to do with us?" I wish, for one, that it were possible in as sprightly and convincing a book as this to know what did become of these women, victims first of society's exploitation and then of its reform. Nothing so uncovers the moral insensibilities of the period as the fact that such a book cannot be written.

E. R. G.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMICS. By William A. Scott. New York: The Century Company; 1933. 540 pp.

For a generation, Professor Scott has been teaching the history of economic thought at the University of Wisconsin. In the course of the years of experience, he has come to the conclusion (Preface) that the volume of good economic literature is too great to enable the graduate student to read more than a very small

part. He believes, too, that students are often lost in the attempt to read histories of books and authors and that they frequently receive distorted impressions from the histories of doctrines available because the various theories are segregated from their context. In this volume, an attempt is made to overcome the shortcomings of certain earlier works by developing the entire history of economic thought around the English Classical School. After a brief discussion of background (Part I) he introduces (Part II) a full consideration of classical doctrines followed by a study of the early critics of classicists (Part III) and an examination (Part IV) of the efforts to reconstruct economic theory along Austrian, neoclassical, and other lines. It is his purpose throughout to utilize the story of the economic conditions out of which economic theory developed more largely than most of his predecessors have done; and the outlines of economic history with which sections are introduced seem particularly happy. Generally, the author has sought (p. v-i) to interpret rather than criticize the works he discusses. In the main, Professor Scott has achieved his objectives. There seems little doubt that for Americans this is the most readable comprehensive book available covering the whole field of economics since publication of the *Wealth of Nations*.

J. W. M.

GENETICS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By Mark Graubard. New York: Tomorrow Publishers, 1935. 127 pp. \$75.

This little volume presents in a popular style a concise, readable summary of the elements of genetics, and some findings of the geneticist which have implications for the sociologist. Even though the latter be suspicious of Dr. Graubard's avowed Marxist viewpoint, he will nevertheless welcome the convenient presenta-

tion of facts and the simple technical exposition.

E. C. J.

**THE SYMBOLS OF GOVERNMENT.** By Thurman W. Arnold. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935. 278 pp. \$2.50.

Starting from the psychological generalization that people want to believe their actions are consistent with abstract logical principles, Professor Arnold examines the word-structures of law, economics, and sociology. As a lawyer, he maintains that jurisprudence has little bearing upon what lawyers *do*. Legal theory, however, gives the important psychological surety that above particular acts of the courts there is a body of sharp, clear, definite principles, where justice is always supreme. The hazy and compromising world of every day is made consistent and logical through jurisprudence. The systems of economic symbols,

likewise, furnish principles and laws which serve conservatives (who cite Adam Smith) and radicals (who cite Karl Marx). Characteristically, word-systems cease to explain processes, and become things-valued-for-themselves. Language is confused with the things the words refer to.

Arnold feels that students of government should become pragmatists. Principles should not be discussed in terms of an abstract truth. They should be judged solely in terms of their effect upon human behavior. Politicians and students need to have only this single principle: human beings ought to be made comfortable. But in terms of observable behavior, what does it mean "to make people comfortable?" Perhaps Arnold has in mind a second study, constructive in nature, which will attempt to answer this question.

A. T.

#### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

**TOURS IN EASTERN IDAHO.** Published by The American Guide Project, Works Progress Administration. 36 pp. Illus.

**NEW HORIZONS IN PLANNING.** Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1937. 178 pp. \$2.00.

**AN OUTLINE IN CIVICS.** By Raymond R. Ammarell. Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Company, 1937. 96 pp. 52 cents.

**WE AMERICANS.** By Elin L. Anderson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. 286 pp. \$3.00.

**THE FOLKLORE OF CAPITALISM.** By Thurman W. Arnold. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. 400 pp. \$3.00.

**CHINESE WOMEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY.** By Florence Ayscough. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. 324 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

**CHILDLESS.** By Sam Gordon Berkow. New York: Lee Furman, Inc., 1937. 307 pp. \$3.00.

**THE PENDULUM SWINGS BACK.** By Marvin M. Black. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press, 1938. 229 pp. \$2.00.

**SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** By James H. S. Bossard. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. 823 pp. \$3.50.

**LETTERS TO PHILIPPA.** By Dorothea Brande. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937. 151 pp. \$1.50.

**RAILROAD DEBT REDUCTION.** Prepared by Irvin Bussing. New York: Savings Banks Trust Company, 1937. 53 pp.

**CHRISTIANITY AND SEX.** By Richard C. Cabot. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 78 pp. \$1.00.

**THE MAKING OF SOCIETY.** Edited by V. F. Calverton. New York: The Random House, Inc. 923 pp. 95 cents.

**Capital Goods and American Progress.** A simple discussion of Causes of Sharp Fluctuations in Capital Goods Production, and the Relation of the Capital Goods Industries to Employment and the American Standard of Living. Chicago: Machinery and Allied Products Institute, 1937. 27 pp.

**AGRARIANISM. A PROGRAM FOR FARMERS.** By Troy J. Cauley. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. 211 pp. \$1.50.

**COLLECTIVISM. A FALSE UTOPIA.** By William Henry Chamberlin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 265 pp. \$2.00.

POOR OLD COMPETITION. By Stuart Chase. New York: League for Industrial Democracy. 36 pp. \$0.10.

WASTE AND THE MACHINE AGE. By Stuart Chase. New York: League for Industrial Democracy. 63 pp. \$0.15.

WHAT IS AHEAD OF US? By G. D. H. Cole and Others. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 192 pp. \$2.00.

ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION. Summary of the Jacksonville Study of Families of 100 Delinquent Youth Together with the Committee Findings of the Blue Ridge Institute (1937) for Southern Social Work Executives. One of a series of special Bulletins on Community Planning. New York: Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1937. 27 pp.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY FROM PLATO TO BURKE. By Thomas I. Cook. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. 725 pp. \$2.50.

A PEDIATRICIAN IN SEARCH OF MENTAL HYGIENE. By Bronson Crothers. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937. 271 pp. \$2.00.

EUROPE IN CRISIS. World Affairs Pamphlets, Number I, January 1938. By Vera Micheles Dean. New York: Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with National Peace Conference, 1938. 56 pp. 25 cents.

REDISCOVERING THE ADOLESCENT. By Hedley S. Dimock. New York: Association Press, 1937. 287 pp. \$2.75.

THE OLD SOUTH: STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY. By William E. Dodd. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 312 pp. \$3.75.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF HEALTH PROGRESS. A study of the mortality experience among the industrial policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company 1911 to 1935. By Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka. New York: Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1937. 611 pp.

TRUTH IN HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By William A. Dunning. Edited by J. G. de R. Hamilton. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. 229 pp. \$2.75.

THE ECONOMIC LITERATURE OF LATIN AMERICA. A Tentative Bibliography. Compiled by the Staff of the Bureau for Economic Research in Latin America, Harvard University. Volume 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. 348 pp. \$4.00.

THE HOME IN TRANSITION. By Grace Loucks Elliott. New York: The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, 1937. 31 pp. 10 cents.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. By Orrin L. Elliott. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937. 624 pp. \$3.00.

A GUIDE TO DUBUQUE. Compiled and Written by The Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, State of Iowa. Sponsored by The City of Dubuque and the Dubuque Chamber of Commerce. Dubuque: The Hoermann Press, 1937. 32 pp.

MAINE. A GUIDE "DOWN EAST." Written by Workers of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Maine. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. 476 pp. \$2.50.

MASSACHUSETTS, A GUIDE TO ITS PLACES AND PEOPLE. Written and Compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Massachusetts. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. 675 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

RHODE ISLAND. A GUIDE TO THE SMALLEST STATE. Written by Workers of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Rhode Island. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. 500 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

VERMONT, A GUIDE TO THE GREEN MOUNTAIN STATE. Written by Workers of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Vermont. Sponsored by the Vermont State Planning Board. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. 392 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

THE NATIONAL CAPITOL. A Chapter from the Guide-book *Washington: City & Capital* prepared by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, 1937. 39 pp. Illustrated.

LANDLORD AND PEASANT IN CHINA. By Chen Han-Seng. A study of the Agrarian Crisis in South China. With a preface by Frederick V. Field, Secretary American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. New York: International Publishers, 1936. 144 pp. \$2.00.

WE, THE TIKOPIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF KINSHIP IN PRIMITIVE POLYNESIA. By Raymond Firth. Cincinnati: American Book Company, 1936. 605 pp.

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY. By James Ford and Katherine Morrow Ford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 300 pp. \$2.50.

FRAEN DER UMWOLKUNG. Sonderabdruck aus *Auslandsdeutsche Volksforschung*, Band 1, Heft 4. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1937. 62 pp.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETS. By John H. Frederick. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. 289 pp. \$3.50.

A STATISTICAL STUDY OF AGRICULTURAL AND RELATED TRENDS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. By J. L. Fulmer. Clemson: South Carolina Agricultural Experiment

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Station of Clemson Agricultural College, Bulletin 312, October, 1937. 72 pp.

**CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** American Sociology Series. By John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt. New York: American Book Company, 1937. 819 pp.

**CHICAGO WORLD TRADER.** Research by Rachel Marshall Goetz and Ursula Batchelder Stone. Chicago: League of Nations Association, Midwest Office, 1937. 39 pp.

**PROYECTO DE CODIGO PENAL PARA LA REPUBLICA ARGENTINA.** By Jorge E. Coll y Eusebio Gómez. Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1937. 124 pp.

**HOW TO READ A NEWSPAPER.** Social Action, Volume III, Number 20, December 15, 1937. By Paul Hutchinson. New York: The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches. 31 pp. 10 cents.

**PRACTICAL BIRTH CONTROL.** A Guide to Medically Approved Measures for the Married. By Rita Irwin and Clementina Paolone. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1937. 172 pp. \$1.75.

**NARCOTIC ADDICTION AS A FACTOR IN PETTY LARCENY IN DETROIT.** By Edward C. Jandy and Maurice Floch. Detroit: Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., November, 1937. 23 pp.

**INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF GERMAN RACIAL POLICIES.** By Oscar I. Janowsky and Melvin M. Fagen. Preface by James Brown Scott. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. 266 pp. \$2.00.

**THE WASTED LAND.** By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. 110 pp. \$2.00.

**ISOLATED COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF A LABRADOR FISHING VILLAGE.** By Oscar Waldemar Junek. Cincinnati: American Book Company, 1937. 130 pp.

**MODERN SAMOA. ITS GOVERNMENT AND CHANGING LIFE.** By Felix M. Keesing. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934. 506 pp. \$4.00.

**TAMING PHILIPPINE HEADHUNTERS.** A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon. By Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934. 288 pp. \$2.75.

**A SOCIAL STUDY OF PITTSBURGH.** Community Problems and Social Services of Allegheny County. By Philip Klein. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. 958 pp. \$4.75.

**WESTERN CIVILIZATION IN THE NEAR EAST.** By Hans Kohn. New York: Morningside Heights, Columbia University Press, 1936. 329 pp. \$3.50.

**UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS.** An International Study of Occupational and Educational Planning. By Walter M. Kotschnig. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. 347 pp. \$3.50.

**COLONIAL POPULATION.** By Robert R. Kuczynski. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. 101 pp. \$1.75.

**CONSUMERS' COOPERATION: A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION.** By Harry W. Laidler. New York: League for Industrial Democracy. 64 pp. \$0.15.

**INCENTIVES UNDER CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM.** By Harry W. Laidler. New York: League for Industrial Democracy. 54 pp. \$0.15.

**THE CHANGING WEST.** By Laurence M. Larson. Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1937. 180 pp. \$2.50.

**WHO WERE THE ELEVEN MILLION?** By David Lawrence. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. 79 pp. \$1.00.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF FAMILIES IN A RURAL CONNECTICUT TOWN. Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 219, July, 1937. By Nathan L. Whetten and Walter C. McKain, Jr. Storrs, Connecticut: Department of Sociology, Connecticut State College. 79 pp.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION. By Hugh Vernon White. New York: Published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, 1937. 30 pp.

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DEPRESSION, RECOVERY AND HIGHER EDUCATION. A Report by Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors. Prepared by Malcolm M. Willey. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937. 543 pp.

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NEGRO YEAR BOOK. An Annual Encyclopedia of The Negro 1937-1938. Edited by Monroe N. Work. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Year Book Publishing Company, 1937. 575 pp. \$2.00.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By M. Yvon. New York: International Review, 1937. 63 pp. 25 cents.

PRESSURE POLITICS IN NEW YORK. A Study of Group Representation before the Legislature. By Belle Zeller. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. 310 pp. \$3.00.

### SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

(Concluded from page 426)

*Laborers and Tenants in Sugar Cane Farming*, Harold Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University; *Old Age Assistance in Leon County, Florida*, Paul W. Shankweiler, Florida State College for Women; *Public Welfare and Agricultural Changes in Mississippi: 1930-1935*, John M. MacLachlan, University of Mississippi.

URBAN AND COMMUNITY STUDIES: *Sociology of Crises: The Louisville Flood of 1937*, Robert A. Kutak, University of Louisville; *Challenge of Community Studies in the South*, Edward M. Kahn, Atlanta Federation of Jewish Social Service; *The Pattern of Institutional Contacts in a Mountain Community*, M. Taylor Matthews, North Carolina State College.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY: *Some Methodological Problems of Social Psychology and Social Psychiatry*, E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University; *An Experimental Approach to Community Mental Health Problems*, L. M. Rogers, U. S. Public Health Service, University of Kentucky; *Insanity Rates Among Whites and Negroes in Georgia and the United States*, Joe S. Jacob, University of Georgia.

POPULATION PROBLEMS: *A Study of Virginia's Marginal Population*, Allen D. Edwards, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; *Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems*, Carl C. Taylor, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

In addition to the formal papers, leaders have been appointed to open the discussion from the floor. In each case, the Section Chairman will act as presiding officer. A list of the officers of the Society, the names of section chairman, time of sectional meetings, and other details, appeared in *SOCIAL FORCES* for December 1937, page 237.



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edited by ROY R. KRACKE

*Cloth, 6 x 9, xvi + 567 pages. Index. \$6.00*

ESSENTIALS OF PSYCHIATRY by GEORGE  
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*Cloth, 6 x 9, xii + 465 pages. Index. \$5.00*

### FORTHCOMING

SECONDARY GASTRO INTESTINAL DIS-  
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SHIPS by JULIUS FRIEDENWALD, et al., to be  
published about May 31, probable price \$3.00.

THE LOG OF TANAGER HILL by MRS. B.  
F. MYERS, to be published about April 20,  
probable price \$2.50.

THE TROUBLED MIND by C. A. BLUEMEL,  
to be published about May 10, probable  
price \$3.50.

CHRONIC INTESTINAL TOXEMIA AND  
ITS TREATMENT by JAMES W. WILTSIE,  
to be published about April 30, probable  
price \$3.00.

THE CHEMISTRY OF THE STERIDS by  
HARRY SOBOTKA, to be published about March  
25, probable price \$8.50.

CLINICAL RADIOLOGY OF THE DIGES-  
TIVE TRACT by MAURICE FELDMAN, to be  
published about April 20th, price undecided.

ADVENTURES IN RESPIRATION by DR.  
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